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"Cause My Parents Love Me": The Effects of Korean Immigrants' Parenting on Adolescents' Academic and Psychological Outcomes

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“Cause My Parents Love Me”: The Effects of Korean Immigrants’ Parenting on Adolescents’ Academic and Psychological Outcomes

by

KyongJoo Hong

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my Lord, who lavished on me all wisdom and understanding with the riches of His grace.

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I am thankful for all those who have supported me to finish this journey. Thank you to Dr. Suizzo for always being there for me not only as an academic mentor but also as a mother figure. You allowed me to fully submerge myself in intellectual curiosity, helped me pursue it in the right manner, and guided me to grow as a researcher. Thank you to the members of my dissertation committee, Keisha Bentley-Edwards, Toni Falbo, Ricardo Ainslie, and Tracie Harrison, who have given their passion and expertise to better my work.

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"Cause My Parents Love Me": The Effects of Korean Immigrants' Parenting on Adolescents' Academic and Psychological Outcomes

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Despite increasing research on Korean immigrants' parental involvement, little is known about links between immigrant parents' acculturation and their children's academic and psychological outcomes through parental academic socialization and their children's perceptions of parental warmth. In a mixed method design, 104 Korean American mother-child dyads participated in the quantitative part of the study, and 7 of these dyads were interviewed. Using a moderated mediation model, I investigated the conditional nature of parental warmth and children's acculturation attitudes in the path from the mothers' acculturation to the children's academic and psychological outcomes via their mothers' academic socialization. Direct relationships and strong correlations exist between variables of interest; however, the moderated mediation model was not supported.

The qualitative part of the analysis produced a rich description of the process of academic socialization and parent-child interactions in Korean immigrant families. Korean immigrant children did not psychologically suffer from mothers' emphasis on hard work but perceived it as a sign of parental love for them. Thus, I further investigated mothers' acculturation effects to determine whether they transmitted to children's psychological outcomes—not conditionally but simultaneously through a serial mediation model. This model included mother's attitude toward Korean culture as the predictor, mother's academic socialization of emphasis on hard work as the first mediator, maternal warmth as the second mediator, and child's psychological adjustment issues as the outcome variable. The overall serial mediation model was significant. The mediation model—only with the first mediator—revealed that higher levels of mother's attitude toward Korean culture significantly increased mother's emphasis on hard work, and that decreased child's psychological adjustment issues. However, when the second mediator was included in the model, mother's attitude toward Korean culture was associated with increased mother's emphasis on hard work, which was associated with decreased maternal warmth, and that was linked to increased child's psychological adjustment issues. The current study provides a more dynamic and multidimensional understanding regarding the relationship between parental acculturation and child's academic and psychological outcomes through parental academic socialization and parental warmth. Implications of these findings and suggestions for future research are discussed.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The Asian population in the United States increased 43% between 2000 and 2010, growing faster than any other ethnic group in the country (US Census Bureau, 2010). Asian American students are consistently the top performers on standardized tests, and they earn higher grade point averages (GPA) in high school and college than students of other ethnicities (Barringer, Takeuchi, & Xenos, 1990; Sue & Ozaki, 2009). However, Asian immigrant adolescents also have higher rates of psychological distress than their European American peers, and higher rates of suicidal ideation have been reported among Asian Pacific islander adolescents (Choi, Stafford, Meininger, Roberts, & Smith, 2002; Cho & Bae, 2005). It has been shown that parents' levels of acculturation and parents' support for children's academic attainment affect children's academic and psychological outcomes (Eng et al., 2007; Kim & Cain, 2008; Lee & Larson, 2000). However, how parental acculturation affects the children's academic and psychological outcomes in an interaction with parental academic socialization for their children is not clear.

Research on the relation between parental acculturation and child outcomes is neither conclusive nor simple. While some studies reported that the parents' higher level of acculturation results in a higher level of children's academic achievement and psychological adjustment (Kim, 2002; Moon, Kang, & An, 2009), other studies reported that Asian immigrant children of less-acculturated parents have higher levels of academic achievement (Kao, 2004; Kao & Tienda, 1995). In addition, children's level of acculturation affects their academic and psychological outcomes under immigrant parents' academic socialization (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon, 2009). For example, Korean American adolescents' acculturation level is positively related to their grade point average (GPA) and psychological

adjustment (Kim & Cain, 2008). Therefore, we cannot explain this relation between parental acculturation and child outcomes as only a direct relationship.

Another factor that affects the relationship between immigrant parents' academic support and their children's academic and psychological outcomes is children's level of acculturation and the acculturation gap between parents and children (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Kim & Cain, 2008; Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon, 2009). Since Asian youths spend a lot of their time on academic activities (Min, 2006; Shek & Chan, 1999), how children perceive parents' involvement for their educational attainment may also affect their academic and psychological outcomes. Previous studies found an association between children's perceptions of parental warmth and their academic and psychological outcomes (Kim & Cain, 2008; Park, 2009). For example, Korean American adolescents' perceptions of their parents' warmth are positively related to their academic achievement (Kim & Rohner, 2002) and negatively related to their depressive symptoms (Kim & Cain, 2008; Park, 2000). Kim (2008) also reported that low perceived maternal and paternal warmth are positively related to adolescents' overall poor psychological adjustment.

These findings suggest that the relation between the parents' acculturation level and children's outcomes is complex. A mechanism that links parents' acculturation and children's academic and psychological outcomes through parental academic socialization has not been identified. In addition, no study has yet investigated the roles of children's perceptions of parental warmth and the acculturation level in the process of parents' academic support. Thus, I chose Korean immigrant families to address this mechanism for two reasons. First, out of the Asian population in the United States, Korean Americans are one of the most rapidly growing

subsets (US Census Bureau, 2010). [1] However, little is known about Korean immigrants because the research on Asian Americans has mainly targeted Chinese Americans or Japanese Americans. Second, the high level of academic achievement and the difficulty that Korean immigrant youth have psychologically adjusting suggests an important social issue relevant to a significant minority population.

Furthermore, although Korean immigrant students generally achieve higher math scores, have higher grades, and attend prestigious universities in greater numbers than other Asian American students (Kang, 1996; Kao & Tienda, 1998; Xie & Goyette, 2004), Korean American adolescents also suffer from more severe psychological difficulties such as depression, low self-esteem, and poor coping skills than their Chinese, Japanese, and White peers (Choi, Stafford, Meininger, Roberts, & Smith, 2002; Yeh, 2003). South Korean adolescents consider school performance their worst pressure (Lee & Larson, 2000; Mo & Lee, 2012). In fact, Statistic Korea's 2012 national report (2014) named suicide the first cause of death among Korean youths between 9 and 24 years old and cited academic stress and a feeling of failure (39%) as the main reason.

Although these immigrant parents' high involvement in their children's academic success has clearly been noted as having an effect on their psychological adjustment and academic achievement (Schurmann & Lee, 2001; Semple, 2009), what is curiously unexplored is whether and how Korean fathers and mothers view their parental roles and how those beliefs affect their parenting practices. Moreover, it has not been investigated whether the effect of how parents socialize their children for their academic achievement differs according to the children's

[1] The Korean population in the United States increased by 35% between 1990 and 2000, whereas the U.S. population increased only 13% (Yu & Choe, 2003). U.S. Koreans are mainly foreign born (78%) and have immigrated mainly to provide their children with a better college education in the United States (Min, 2011; Shin & Shin, 1999).

perceptions of parental warmth and the children's acculturation level. Thus, the aim of the study is to address this research gap by explaining the pathway between the parents' level of acculturation and their children's academic and psychological outcomes.

I based my research on the theoretical perspectives of acculturation, parents' academic socialization, and the parental acceptance-rejection theory. Acculturation is the process by which members of an immigrant group adopt the language, attitudes, culture, and behaviors of the host country (Zane & Mak, 2003). This process combines both old and new cultural values by maintaining aspects of the original culture while adapting elements in a new culture (Berry, 2005). Academic socialization is the process through which parental beliefs and behaviors form children's academic development (Taylor, Clayton, & Rowley, 2004). Rohner's parental acceptance-rejection theory is a theory of lifespan development related to parental acceptance and rejection toward their children (Rohner, 2005). Rohner (2005) identified parental warmth as being significantly related to adolescents' psychological adjustment and mental health.

I used a mixed-methods design to investigate two research questions: 1) What role does parental warmth play in the relationship between parents' academic socialization and children's outcomes? and 2) What role does children's acculturation play in the relationship between parents' academic socialization and children's outcomes? Then, in the qualitative part, I aimed to produce a rich description of the process of parents' acculturation and how it affects the relationships among parental practices, parental warmth, and their children's psychological adjustment in Korean immigrant families.

I recruited 114 Korean immigrant mother-child pairs from 3 major cities in Texas. The participants were mothers of adolescents and their children (6th grade–12th grade). Parents completed measures of acculturation, parental academic socialization, and a demographic

questionnaire. Parents also reported on their children's academic achievement. Children completed measures of perceived parental warmth, acculturation, and psychological adjustment. I used a moderated mediation design to investigate two research questions about relations between the study variables. Then, I used qualitative methods to gain a more in-depth understanding of parent-child interactions and perceptions of Korean immigrant families in the interactions and to shed light on the models tested in the quantitative phase.

The study is organized in the following way. The current chapter, Chapter 1, is an introduction to the problem, study objectives, and method. Chapter 2 sets the research context and reviews the literature concerning immigrant family members' acculturation, parents' academic socialization, children's perceived parental warmth, and children's academic and psychological outcomes before presenting hypotheses. Chapter 3 presents the method that I used to answer the research questions and includes explanations of the research design, sample, data collection strategy, and definitions of all variables. The analytic strategy employed for testing study hypotheses is also presented. Chapter 4 discusses the findings, and Chapter 5 includes discussion and limitations, as well as theoretical and practical implications.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Acculturation

In 2013, approximately 40.3 million immigrants lived in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Twenty-five percent of the 69.9 million children under age 18 in the United States live at home with at least one immigrant parent (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). These immigrants adapt to the host culture to become part of U.S. communities. According to Berry (1997), the term *immigrant* indicates only physical status, while *acculturation* indicates psychological adaptation. As soon as they arrive, they begin undergoing the process of acculturation, adopting the language, attitudes, culture, and behaviors of their new host country (Zane & Mak, 2003).

Gordon (1964) originally conceptualized acculturation as a unidirectional process in which individuals lose their culture of origin through interaction with the members in the host culture. However, in the bilinear acculturation approach, immigrants develop two cultural orientations: the first to the host culture and a second to the culture of origin. These two orientations are independent of each other (Kim & Abreu, 2001; Miller, 2010; Yoon et al., 2011). In other words, not all immigrant family members lose their culture of origin as a result of adopting the host culture. In the bilinear approach, acculturation is viewed as a process in which one combines both old and new cultural values (Berry, 2005; Oetting & Beauvais, 1990). This process occurs in identity, language, values, attitudes, knowledge, and behaviors (Abe-Kim, Ozaki & Goto, 2001). Berry, Kim, Minde, and Mok (1987) identify four strategies of adaptation in their model of the process of acculturation: (a) Assimilation: individuals accept the host culture and reject their culture of origin; (b) Integration: individuals maintain and accept both culture of origin and the host culture; (c) Marginalization: individuals reject both old and new

cultures; and (d) Separation: individuals value the culture of origin and prevent the new culture from interfering with their own cultural identity.

Berry (2005) especially insists that one key feature of acculturation is the variability among groups and individuals, and even within families. Immigrants typically immigrate as a family, and thus the intersection of the individual and family as well as a comparison of the cultures of the origin and host countries is relevant. Research suggests there are many different ways for parents to be involved in their children's education, and these practices vary across racial and ethnic groups (Anguiano, 2004; Chao, 2000; Fan & Chen, 2001). For example, Chao (2000) proposes that differences in parental involvement and their strategies have to do with ethnic groups' cultural values. Thus, when we turn to how the parents' acculturation shapes their involvement in supporting their children's educational achievement, it is not clear how these immigrant parents combine old and new cultural values or apply those practices.

Moreover, we do not clearly know how children of immigrants who acculturate differently from their parents respond to their parents' support for their educational achievment and nor how parents' acculturation level affects their children's academic and psychological outcomes. Some scholars argue that parents' greater involvement in and control over children's education, which are characteristic of Asian parenting, are culturally accepted and welcomed by their children (Chao, 2000). However, other scholars argue that these practices cause family conflict because they contradict the Western ideals of independence and autonomy that immigrant adolescents learn from school (Hickey, 2006; Park, Kim, Chiang, & Ju, 2010), This conflict, in turn, can interfere with their school adjustment and psychological adjustment issues (Cho & Bae, 2005; Juang, Syed, & Takagi, 2007). Therefore, this study addresses how immigrant parents' acculuration affects their home-based academic socialization and their

children's academic and psychological outcomes under their parents' influence in Korean immigrant families.

The Effect of Parental Involvement on Children's Achievement

Academic socialization. Academic socialization is the process through which parental beliefs and behaviors form children's academic development within specific socioeconomic and cultural contexts (Taylor, Clayton, & Rowley, 2004). Because academic socialization is a multidimensional construct (Epstein & Sanders, 2002), its dimensions reflect the categories of cultural models such as ideas, beliefs, goals, and practices. Academic socialization includes a variety of types of parental involvement: (a) school involvement like volunteering in classrooms and attending conferences, and (b) home-based involvement, such as engaging children in learning activities, discussing school with children, and holding high educational expectations (Muller & Kerbow, 1993). These different types of parental involvement are shaped by a number of factors such as their income, educational level, and cultural models of appropriate socialization goals and strategies (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001; LeVine et al., 1994).

Home-based parental involvement. Numerous studies have attempted to illustrate the structures and types of parental involvement as well as their effects (Ho, 2005; Jeynes, 2011; Reay, 2005). Some researchers have found positive effects of home-based parental involvement on students' achievement (Paulson, 1994; Singh et al., 1995), while others have discovered no significant effect on academic achievement (Bobbett, French, Achilles, & Bobbett, 1995; Keith, 1991). For example, in their review of English language literature on the relationship between parental involvement, parental support and family education, Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) found that parental school involvement, such as parents' attendance of school activities and parent-teacher conferences, has an important impact on the child's school performance.

However, in a meta-analysis of parental involvement and secondary school achievement, Jeynes (2011) noted that neither of these activities yielded a large effect. There is, however, little argument that parental involvement at home has a stronger effect on children's outcomes than school-based involvement (Epstein & Sanders, 2002). For example, Muller and Kerbow (1993) asserted that family factors were considerably more salient than school variables in influencing school outcomes and that parents' assistance with children's homework is positively related to school outcomes. In addition, according to Jeynes's meta-analysis of the relationship between parental involvement and elementary and secondary school achievement (2010), home-based involvement is associated with higher achievement than is school-based involvement, more so for racial minority students than their European peers.

Parental beliefs, goals, and the cultural influence in education. According to Jeynes's meta-analysis (2010), parents' expectations for their children have a more significant effect on their academic outcomes than any other factor. Researchers find that Hispanic parents, African parents, and Asian parents have higher levels of educational aspirations than their European counterparts (Bohon, Johnson, & Gorman, 2006; Cheng & Starks, 2002; Suizzo & Stapleton, 2007). It is largely because parents from minority ethnic groups view higher education as a means to achieve social mobility (Garcia Coll et al., 2002); and these immigrant parents' high aspirations remain consistent even in the process of acculturation (Raleigh & Kao, 2010). Through their expectations for success, parents establish an atmosphere conducive to strong achievement.

Parents' views of barriers for children's education are the other key feature to understanding parents' educational aspirations and practices at home. Many parents are aware that their children may confront barriers such as racism, teacher biases, and financial hardships

(Behnke, Piercey, & Diversi, 2004; McKay, Atkins, Hawkins, Brown, & Lynn, 2003). How they perceive these barriers may guide parents to use different strategies when they support their children's education at home. In explaining Asian Americans' academic achievement, Sue and Okazaki (2009) especially point to Asian Americans' perceptions of barriers in upward mobility in careers that are not related to education such as politics, sports, and entertainment. Due to the perception of blocked mobility in these noneducational areas, Asian Americans consider education as the only means for social mobility and allocate great effort in education (Sue & Okazaki, 2009).

In accounting for the high educational success of some Asian immigrant children, culture is often used as a major explanation. Culture is composed of beliefs, values, ideals, goals, avoidance, and practices shared by members of a cultural group that guide group members' actions and interpretations of phenomena (Holland & Quinn, 1987; Levine, 1977; Sue & Okazaki, 2009). Therefore, understanding a unique relationship between the influences of the original culture and the parental supports for children's education is critical. Asian family values commonly emphasize the need for education, filial piety to parents, strong family ties, social comparisons with other peers in terms of academic success, and emphasis of parental roles in education (Benjamin, 1997; Kim & Park, 2003; Lee, 1997; Mau, 1997; Mordkowitz & Ginsburg, 1987). Therefore, in understanding the effect of parents' acculturation on their children's academic and psychological outcomes, it is important to investigate how parents modify the cultural values, practices, and types of social networks, which were formed in the homeland, and transmit them to their practices in the host country in supporting their children's educational achievement.

Korean Immigrants

Korean immigrants in the United States. Korean Americans are the seventh-largest immigrant group—after Mexican, Filipino, Indian, Chinese, Salvadoran, and Vietnamese foreign born—to immigrate to the United States (Terrazas & Batog, 2010). More than two-thirds of Korean Americans were foreign-born, and more than half of foreign-born Korean Americans came to the United States after 1980 (Kim & Yoo, 2009; Yoo & Kim, 2010). In 2013, 52% of Korean immigrants (ages 25 and over) had a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 28% of the total US immigrant population and 30% of all native-born adults (Zong & Batalova, 2014). Seventy percent of Korean American households speak Korean at home, and about 53% of Korean immigrants (age 5 and over) reported limited English proficiency (US Census, 2010). Therefore, some researchers suggest that lower English language proficiency, few marketable or transferable skills, and limited information about their new homeland led them to become self-employed workers in small businesses such as grocery stores, laundries, or body shops, which were labor-intensive (Kim & Hurh, 1993; Min, 2006; Zhou & Li, 2003). Korean immigrants participate in the labor force at a lower rate than the overall immigrant and native-born populations. In 2013, about 59% of Korean immigrants (age 16 and over) were in the civilian labor force, compared to 67% and 63% of the overall foreign- and native-born populations, respectively (Zong & Batalova, 2014). More than 75% of Korean Americans work in a segregated Korean ethnic subeconomy, and Korean immigrants had the third-highest self-employment rate among all immigrant groups (Min, 2006).

As Korean immigrants are homogeneous in their cultural background and homeland (Min, 2006), their language abilities and distinctive settlement areas have strengthened their affiliations with their Korean communities. In addition, their exclusive dependence on ethnic

media has strengthened Korean immigrants' ties to the ethnic community and the home country (Min, 2001). Thus, Korean Americans' cultural values have been well preserved (Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002; Min, 2006). Because cultural values influence how parents view education (Li, 2001, 2002; Rogoff, 2003), the current study investigates how Korean immigrant parents keep or adopt both their parental involvement and their expectations about the degree to which parents and children are responsible for children's outcomes.

Ethnic community and education. Korean Americans with limited proficiency in English and few work connections have expressed strong attachment to their ethnic community. The majority of Korean immigrants have strong affiliations with the churches, which play a significant role in maintaining their ethnic social network by providing support and resources for Korean Americans (Mui & Shibusawa 2008; Wong et al, 2005). Warner (1990) found that religious involvement among Korean Americans has been accompanied by an unusually high degree of ethnic identity, social identity, and sense of empowerment. In Hurh and Kim's study (1990), first-generation Korean Americans were found as a group that was marginalized from mainstream American culture. However, a more recent study has described Korean Americans as having successfully integrated into mainstream society, thereby creating opportunities for upward mobility (Chae & Foley, 2010). According to Yoo and Kim (2010), Korean immigrant churches were founded as community centers as early as 1903 and remain to be an significant institution for more than two-thirds of Korean Americans. The Korean immigrant church offers a sanctuary from ordinary experiences of prejudice and language and cultural barriers and provides programs and services for members at different stages of life (Yoo & Kim, 2010). Thus, Korean American supportive networks, both formal and informal, are crucial influential factors on parental involvement.

Korean immigrants' involvement, model minority, and children's achievement.

More than 95% of Korean Americans are post-1965 immigrants and their children (Min, 2011). Therefore, Korean Americans are mainly foreign born (78%). They mention economic aspects and their children's educational opportunities as explanations for leaving South Korea (Shin & Shin, 1999; Min, 2011). Their characteristic group homogeneity (Min & Kim, 2009) and modern communication technologies (Levitt, 2001) enable them to maintain strong ties with their homeland (Min & Chung, 2014). As a result, Korean immigrant parents provide home-based parental practices for their children's academics that are incredibly similar to those in South Korea (Min, 2006).

More than 90% of Korean parents in South Korea expect their children to graduate from a four-year university or pursue higher education (Min, 1998). Parents push their children to enter prestigious universities to secure jobs, which are to provide a sense of self-worth and not just a source of income (Paik, 2001). Children's academic success is considered the most honorable way to repay parents for their sacrifices (Choi & Dancy, 2009). Moreover, one of the main reasons for increased numbers of Korean immigrants to the United States since 2000 is an interest in providing their children with a better college education (Min, 2011).

Korean immigrant parents also have high educational aspirations for their children and pressure their children to excel academically (Paik, 2001; Zhou, 2008; Zhou & Kim, 2006). In their parental practices, Korean immigrant parents greatly invest their money and time just as they do in Korea. Compared to other ethnic American parents, Korean American parents are willing to devote more income to their children's education. For example, among all ethnic groups, Korean Americans showed the highest rate of choosing a suburban residence in order to access a highly ranked public school (The US Bureau of the Census, 1993). They strictly control

children's after-school time, including sending their children to private institutions after school, during weekends, and on school vacations (Min, 2006; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Their savings are also allocated for their children's education, rather than for their own retirement (Yoon, Kim, & Park, 2000). In addition, because a boy or a girl is considered an integral part of the parents' home until he or she establishes a family of his or her own, Korean immigrants' financial and emotional support persists even after children's graduation from college (Yoo & Kim, 2010). Paik (2001) states that this economic investment is considered a good insurance policy for parents who invest in their children as lifelong supporters. Knowing their parents' high expectations about education and academic achievement, Korean American children try to understand adult perspectives and, thus, consider academic success a priority in their lives (Lee, 2009). Actually, under their parents' supports and aspirations for their children's education, Korean immigrant adolescents generally spend more hours on schoolwork than their American student counterparts (Lee & Larson, 2000; Park & Kim, 2004). Korean American students have performed well on several measures of achievement (Kao & Tienda, 1998; Zhao & Qiu, 2009). According to a study by Kao (1995), Korean American adolescents achieved higher math scores and higher grades than their European counterparts, even after controlling for socioeconomic status, gender, mother's immigrant status, and material and other educational resources.

In addition to Korean cultural background for children's achievement, the perceived model minority image seems to be a significant component in explaining Korean immigrant adolescents' academic achievement and psychological adjustment. According to Takagi (1992), the term *model minority* was coined in the mid-1960s by social scientists and journalists to describe the seemingly successful entry of Asian Americans into mainstream society. The predominant images of Asian American adolescents are successful, hardworking, high academic

achievers who are proficient in math and the sciences (Allis, 1991); therefore, Asian minority groups serve as a model for other racial minorities to follow. This myth pervades in US society and educational system. This model minority stereotype generates an extremely idealized academic achievement standard for Asian American adolescents. Thus, working-class Korean Americans who are marginalized by the term *model minority* often feel "inadequate, ashamed, and ostracized from the co-ethnic community" (Lee, 2004, p. 314). Studies consistently found that Asian adolescents are also perceived by both Asian American and non-Asian Americans as successful and accomplished students, and teachers perceived Asian American adolescents as more obedient, disciplined, and less prone to anger than European American students (Lee, 1996; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). This stereotype, therefore, strongly influences Korean immigrant adolescents' psychological and academic outcomes.

The model minority stereotype may be viewed as a positive stereotype; however, it creates a pressure to conform to a standard of academic achievement, which may be unachievable for some Asian American adolescents while they feel they still need to fulfill these expectations from their parents, friends, or teachers (Lee, 1996). Asian students are also exposed to comparison with other Asian students, which would lead to a significant impact on their psychological adjustment. In fact, many studies report how Asian immigrant adolescents feel pressured to attain or maintain a high level of academic achievement due to the expectations on them (Choi & Dancy, 2009; Kim & Chung, 2003).

Korean immigrants' psychological adjustment. Korean American adolescents demonstrate significantly higher levels of mental health problems such as depression and lower levels of self-esteem, and coping than their Chinese, Japanese, and European American peers (Choi et al., 2002; Yeh, 2003;). Korean American adolescents are struggling with a need for

approval through performance and perfectionism (Kim, 2005). Parental practices of Korean immigrants at home are also related to their children's psychological issues. Though Korean American parents are warm and sensitive (Kim, 2005), they are not used to expressing their emotions to their children in actions and words (Kim & Hong, 2007). In other words, how parental academic socialization is expressed is a critical aspect in understanding Korean American adolescents' psychological distress.

In addition, adolescents' acculturation is another variable in understanding their academic and psychological outcomes. In Yeh's (2003) study of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese immigrant junior high and high school students, Asian youth who were more assimilated to American culture reported fewer mental health symptoms than Asian youth who were more attached to Asian culture. In immigrant families, immigrant children are likely to acculturate to the host culture faster than their immigrant parents (Berry, 1990; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009). Thus, parents' and children's different rates of acculturation to the host culture may lead to inter-generational conflicts, which can be a critical stressful factor for immigrant children (Uba, 1994). Previous studies have reported a relation between intergenerational cultural conflict and Asian immigrant adolescents' psychological adjustment. For example, higher intergenerational conflict between Korean immigrant adolescents and their parents predicted psychological adjustment issues, such as depression, anxiety, and even suicide (Cho & Bae, 2005). Furthermore, when Asian American adolescents had lower acculturation levels and higher parent-adolescent conflict, they were at a higher risk for suicidality than those who had higher acculturation levels (Lau et al., 2002).

I have reviewed acculturation and the parental involvement with regard to child's academic and psychological outcomes and discussed the characteristics of Korean immigrant

parents and their children. As reviewed above, immigrant parents' involvement and children's perceptions on parents' behaviors are closely related to immigrant adolescents' psychological adjustment. In the next section, I discuss Korean immigrant children's perceived paternal and maternal warmth as a buffer against children's academic and psychological issues. Rohner's parental acceptance-rejection theory is my guiding theoretical frame of child's perceived warmth.

Parental Acceptance-Rejection Theory

Rohner's (2004) parental acceptance-rejection theory (PARTheory) is an evidence-based theory of life span development related to parental acceptance and rejection worldwide. *Parental acceptance* refers to parents' engagement in enhancing the quality of parent-child emotional relationships, including parents' physical and verbal behaviors as well as their emotional expressions. This parental acceptance ultimately leads to parental warmth, affection, concern, support, or love toward their children. *Parental rejection*, on the other hand, refers to the absence of parental warmth or to the presence of hurtful behaviors or affects (Rohner, 2004).

Rohner (2005a) defined *warmth* as "the emotional (vs. behavioral) experience of caring, nurturance, concern, or simply love of one person (e.g., a parent) for another (e.g., a child)" (p. 16). According to the warmth dimension of parenting (Rohner, 2005a), warmth and affection are included in the parental acceptance category (vs. parental rejection). Warmth and affection can be manifested in words or actions. For example, parental affection can be shown physically (hugging, kissing, and comforting), verbally (praising and complimenting), or symbolically in culturally specific ways. On the other hand, parental rejection has four subcategories: being cold/unaffectionate, hostility/aggression, indifference/neglect, and undifferentiated rejection. These four classes feature a lack of warmth or affection, hitting or kicking, cursing or saying

thoughtless things, paying no attention to the needs of the child, and making the child feel unloved (Rohner, 2005). The child may experience any combination of principal expressions: hostile and aggressive (pinching, sarcastic, and humiliating), indifferent and neglecting (pay little attention to child's needs for comfort or help, physically and psychologically unavailable or inaccessible), and undifferentiated rejecting (the child believes that their parents do not really care for them or love them even when there are not clear indicators of parents' aggressive or neglecting behaviors) (Rohner, 2005). The behaviors of parental acceptance and rejection are described in Figure 1 in detail (Rohner, 2008). Parents can be positioned in the range between acceptance and rejection depend on how warm they are toward their children (Rohner, 2005; Rohner et al., 2005).

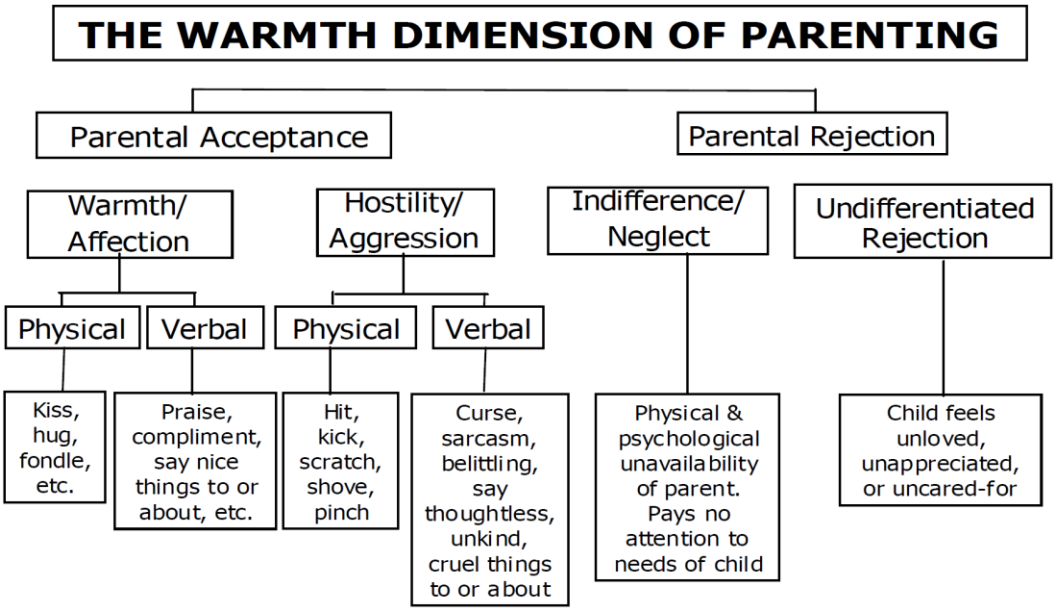


Figure 1. The warmth dimension of parenting.

In his research on parental warmth and children's problems, Rohner found that children who perceived themselves to be rejected by their parents seemed to be anxious and insecure, and they tended to have distorted mental representations of themselves, their partners, and the world

around them (Rohner, 1986). On the other hand, children who receive high levels of parental warmth and support present fewer behavior problems (Chen, Liu, & Li, 2000; Waller et al., 2014).

Korean immigrants' parental acceptance-rejection. Kim and Hong (2007) found that Korean immigrant parental practices changed as they experienced Western society. They suggest that Korean immigrant parents discontinue what they perceive to be negative aspects of the Korean parenting style (spanking or less physical affection) and adopt positive aspects of the American style (no spanking, use of time out, use of sticker charts, or removing/adding privileges); and Korean immigrant mothers, fathers, and children differently perceive these culturally mixed parental practices. In Rohner and Pettengill's (1985) study, Korean American children perceived higher parental behavioral control as a lower level of parental acceptance. On the contrary, Korean immigrant fathers perceived their high behavioral control as higher warmth (Kim 2005). Additionally, children perceived their mothers to be warmer than their fathers, and girls perceived their mothers and fathers as warmer than did boys (Kim & Rohner, 2002). The quality of the children's relationship with their parents provides a foundation of their sense of emotional security and comfort (Ainsworth, 1989; Bowlby, 1988).

Thus, PARTheory's personality subtheory offers us an explanation of psychological consequences of perceived parental warmth in Korean immigrant children's development.

Psychological adjustment. Parents are uniquely important to the child because no other human beings can substitute for them. When children perceive their parents' rejecting them, it has negative effects on their psychological adjustment, behavioral function, and cognitive processing (Rohner, 2008). All humans have a need for positive response, comfort, and support from the people most important to them (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Rohner, 2005, 2008).

Rohner (2005) explains that the perception of rejection leads to the seven personality dispositions: (a) hostility and aggression; (b) dependence or defensive independence; (c) impaired self-esteem; (d) impaired self-adequacy; (e) emotional unresponsiveness; (f) emotional instability; and (g) negative worldview.

Hostility includes the possibility that children may feel anger and aggression, or they may have a problem with management of aggression. Defensive independence happens when children deny their desire for warmth or support, leaving those needs unmet. Impaired self-esteem and impaired self-adequacy occur when children view themselves as they think their parents view them. Emotional unresponsiveness and emotional instability characterize the children's inability to convey their emotions and to control their emotions under stressful situations. Then, children with perceived parental rejection develop a negative worldview.

Regarding the relationship between parental warmth and adolescents' psychological adjustment, numerous studies report that adolescents' reports of low parental warmth are positively related to poor psychological adjustment in European American, African American, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Turkish, Pakistani, Chinese, and Korean American adolescents (Erkman, 2008; Khaleque et al., 2008; Veneziano, 2000). Additionally, in a meta-analysis of 43 cross-cultural and intracultural studies worldwide, Khaleque and Rohner (2002) assert that an increase in perceived rejection is universally associated with an increase in psychological maladjustment. Regarding the age and gender differences, both Rohner (2005) and Veneziano and Rohner (1998) found that age and gender had no effect on the child's psychosocial functions. Nevertheless, Rohner did find a correlation with socioeconomic status, speculating that wealthier families have more time to devote to their children, thus creating a greater sense of warmth.

Overall, the previous studies have successfully identified associations among the levels of parental acculturation, parents' academic socialization, parental warmth, child's acculturation, and the academic and psychological outcomes of the child. What these studies have in common is no investigation for the mechanism among all these factors. The central question that guides this study is how a child's perception of parental warmth and a child's acculturation change the effect of parents' acculturation on children's academic and psychological outcomes in the process that parents socialize their children for education. Thus, I intended to investigate the mechanisms among all these elements through a moderated mediation model. By interviewing parents and children, I further acquired a better understanding of the interactions between immigrant parents and their children in the processes of parents' socialization. In doing so, I created a more comprehensive picture of the effects of parents' acculturation upon the psychological and academic success of the children through parental academic socialization.

CHAPTER 3: METHOD

Overview

The study aimed to expand the understanding of the associations among parents' acculturation, parenting practices, and their children's academic and psychological outcomes. I examined the moderating roles of parental warmth and child's acculturation attitudes in the proposed indirect effects. The current literature would be extended by investigating these variables among a sample of Korean American adolescents from Korean immigrant parents, who tend to have higher levels of academic aspirations and higher psychological distress compared to their other ethnic peers. To reach the goal of the study, I used mixed methods: a moderated mediation model and a qualitative study.

Research Questions and Hypotheses of the Study

The following section outlines the proposed research questions and hypotheses based on relevant literature discussed in the preceding sections. I developed two important research questions for the quantitative part of the study. An overview of a moderated mediation model is presented in Figure 2. Then the qualitative part of the study is presented to produce a rich description of the family interactions and children's perceived messages and feelings in the process of immigrant mothers' academic socialization for their children.

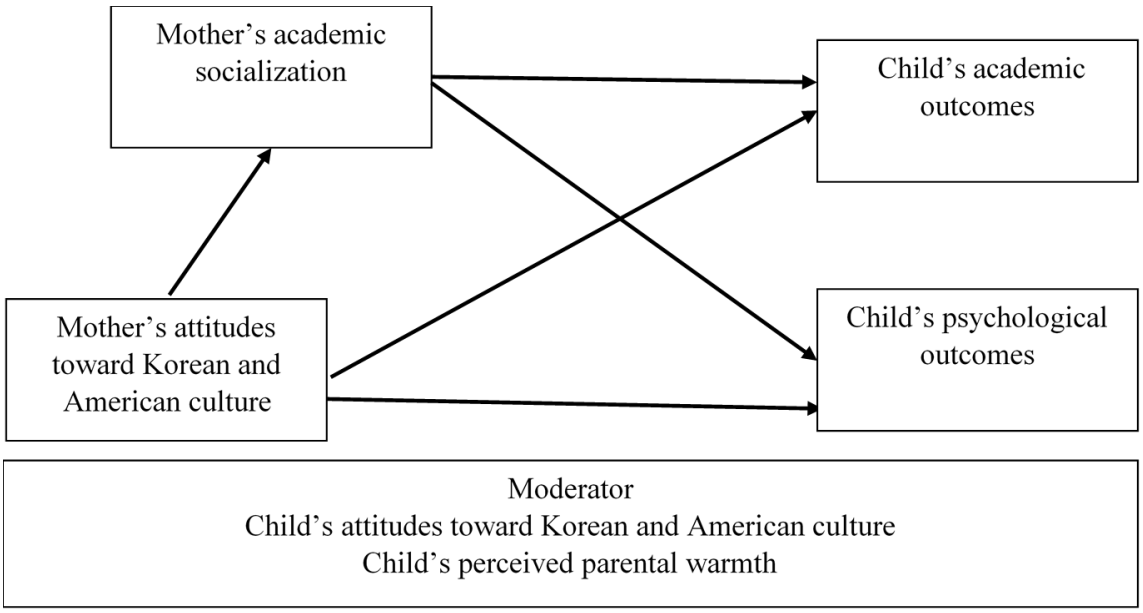


Figure 2. Overview of moderated mediation model for the study.

Research Question 1

What role does maternal or paternal warmth play in the relation between mother's academic socialization and child's academic and psychological outcomes?

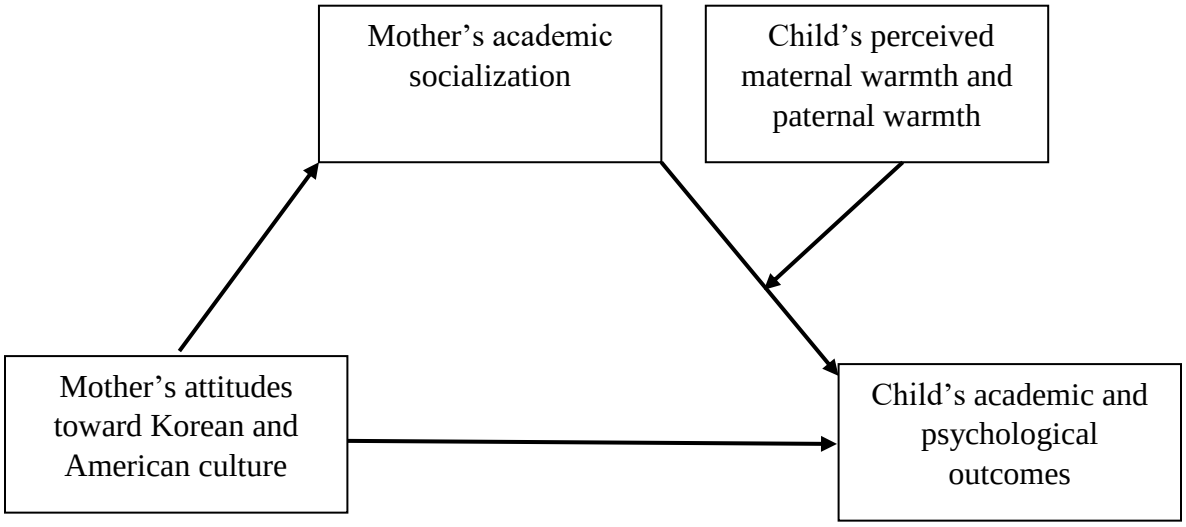


Figure 3. Model 1: A moderated mediation model of the relationship between mother's attitudes toward Korean and American culture, mother's academic socialization, child's academic achievement and psychological outcomes, and child's perceived parental warmth.

Hypothesis 1_1. I expected that the indirect effects of the mother's attitudes toward Korean and American culture on child's academic achievement through the mother's academic socialization would be conditional upon perceived parental warmth such that this relation would be stronger in child who perceive higher level of parental warmth than child who perceive a lower level of parental warmth.

Hypothesis 1_2. I expected that the indirect effect of the mother's attitudes toward Korean and American culture on child's psychological adjustment through the mother's academic socialization would be conditional upon perceived parental warmth such that this relation would be stronger in child who perceive higher level of parental warmth than in child who perceive a lower level of parental warmth.

Adolescents' perceptions of parental warmth are strongly associated with their academic and psychological outcomes. When adolescents perceive lower parental warmth, they tend to have lower academic achievement (Kim & Rohner, 2002; Uddin, 2011) and poor psychological adjustment (Kim, 2006; Kim, 2007; Kim, Cain, & McCubbin, 2006; Quach, Epstein, Riley, Falconier, & Fang, 2015; Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer, 2005). When Asian American parents adhere to traditional values, their children may perceive parental practices and intentions differently (Cho & Haslam, 2010; Romero, Carvajal, Valle, & Orduna, 2007). For example, traditional Korean parents typically refrain from expressing affection. Less acculturated parents can be perceived by their children as strict and emotionally detached (Kim, 2001; Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000). Therefore, I expected that different levels of children's perceived maternal and paternal warmth would moderate the indirect effect of mother's acculturation on the child's outcomes through parental academic socialization.

Research Question 2

What role might the child's acculturation attitudes toward Korean and American culture play in the relation between the mother's academic socialization and child's outcomes?

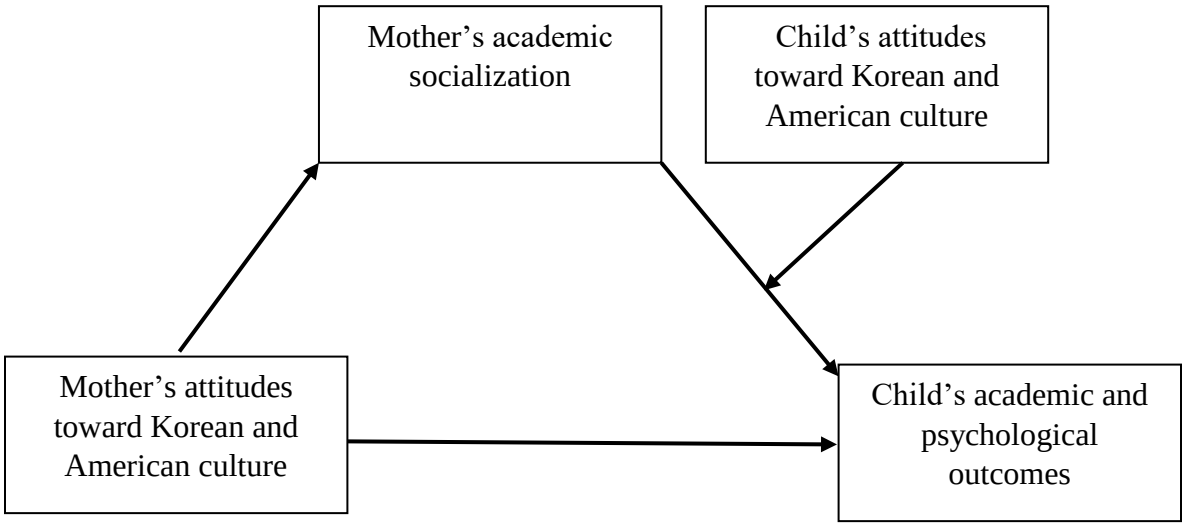


Figure 4. Model 2: A moderated mediation model of the relationship between mother's attitudes toward Korean and American culture, mother's academic socialization, child's academic achievement and psychological outcomes, and child's attitudes toward Korean and American culture.

Hypothesis 2_1. I expected that child's attitudes toward Korean and American culture would moderate the indirect effect of mother's attitudes toward Korean and American culture through academic socialization on child's academic achievement. Immigrant parents and children acculturate at different rates, and these differences impact the child's academic and psychological outcomes (Cho & Bae, 2005; Kim & Cain, 2008; Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). As children become increasingly more acculturated (Chao, 1994; Portes, 1997; Uba, 1994), they experience fewer effects of the parents' socializing them for high academic achievement (Eng et al., 2007; Jain & Belsky, 1997). However, high performance among Asian students was associated with high Asian identification (Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005; Lee, 2003). Thus, the relationship between parents' academic socialization and children's

psychological adjustment would be significantly stronger in children whose scores are higher in Korean culture orientation.

Hypothesis 2_2. I expected that child's attitudes toward Korean and American culture would moderate the indirect effect of mother's attitudes toward Korean and American culture through academic socialization on child's psychological adjustment. As children become increasingly more acculturated, this would moderate the indirect effects of the parents' cultural attitudes upon their psychological adjustment (Lee & Chang, Skinner, 2000; Ying & Han). According to Portes and Rumbaut (1996), generational dissonance may occur when parents and children have dissimilar levels of acculturation (Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Lee & Liu, 2001; Sung, 1985). Therefore, I hypothesized that different levels of child's acculturation would moderate the indirect effect of mother's acculturation on the child's psychological adjustment through parental academic socialization.

Participants

The current analyses were conducted using quantitative and qualitative data from Korean immigrant parent-child dyads. I planned to recruit 120 mother-child pairs, and this number was determined based on the anticipated response rate and desired sample size. In a multiple regression analysis, Pedhazur (1997) suggests variable ratios of 15:1 or 30:1 when generalization is critical. Gorsuch (1983) and Hatcher (1994) suggest a minimum subject-to-item ratio of at least 5:1 when doing an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA). I recruited 150 Korean American mother-child pairs of families from 3 major cities in Texas. The survey packets were distributed through 8 organizations, and 109 packets were returned. However, 5 packets were excluded due to missing data. Criteria for inclusion were: (a) one or both parents were born in Korea; (b) child participant was between 6th grade and 12th grade and must have either been born and reared in

the United States or been born in Korea but moved to the United States as a child; and (c) the family lived in the United States at the time of the study. For the qualitative part, seven mother-child dyads were interviewed.

Therefore, 104 mothers (*M* age = 45.2 years) with an average length in the United States of 16.3 years were included in the analyses. Most of the mothers (89.42%) had an associate's degree and above. Half of the mothers used both English and Korean with their children, 45% of mothers used only Korean, and only 5% of mothers reported that they conversed with their children in English. The children's sample included 60 boys and 44 girls.

Procedure

Quantitative part. After I obtained approval from the committee for the protection of human subjects, I started to contact leaders of Korean American churches, Korean language schools, and cultural activities in 3 major cities in Texas. When the leaders of organizations volunteered to participate in the study, I visited the organizations with the survey packages. I explained to the site leaders about the study and the data-collection process. I obtained informed consent, and the mother participants in the study were asked to complete a brief demographic questionnaire. If the children were contacted first, then I or the site leaders described the process and confidentiality of the research, sent consent forms home with a letter that described the research and possible risks of participation, and asked for their parents' consent of participation and their children's participation in the study. The questionnaire packet for each family included two individual packets: one each for the mother and the adolescent. Mothers completed measures of acculturation, parental academic socialization, and a demographic questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire included questions such as parents' educational levels, income, length of stay, and language used with their children. Mothers reported on their children's GPAs

as well. Children completed measures on their perceptions of paternal warmth and maternal warmth, acculturation, and psychological adjustment. There was no compensation for taking part in the study.

Qualitative part. The purpose of the qualitative part was mainly to elicit a rich description of family interactions and perceptions in the process of immigrant parents' academic socialization. I wanted to learn how parents' acculturation affected parent-child relationships and children's perceptions of parents' involvement. After I obtained participants' responses from the quantitative part of the study, I interviewed seven mother-child pairs who volunteered for the qualitative study. Twenty-three mothers and seventeen children volunteered for the interview. Out of them, only 10 mother-child dyads volunteered. I e-mailed 10 mothers, and only 7 mothers informed me of the time slots and the locations where they wanted to have interviews. Three mother-child dyads were excluded from the interview because they did not respond to the e-mail.

Semi-structured interviews with participants were conducted at each participant's home. Each interview was audio-recorded. I prepared a written interview guide in advance and followed the guide. The interview was conducted using a list of questions designed to elicit information to address the research questions (Appendix B and D). I asked mothers all the questions and some extra questions to probe the meanings if they were necessary. For example, when a mother talked about extra activities as a daily routine, I asked what those extra activities were. The interviews lasted on average 90 minutes. Six mothers were interviewed in Korean, and one mother, who was fluent in both languages, was interviewed in English. Regarding children's interviews, two children presented bilingual proficiency in Korean. One child told me that she preferred to use Korean. Thus, I interviewed her in Korean and interviewed the other six

children in English. Upon finishing the interviews, I wrote field notes about my observations of the sites, interactions with participants, and other relevant information. Field notes were recorded in a quiet place away from the sites of interviews.

Measures

Six questionnaires were included in the study. These were the bicultural attitude scales for parents and children; Parents' Academic Socialization Questionnaire; short forms of the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ) for children; the child version of Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ); and a demographic questionnaire.

Bicultural Attitude Scale for parents and children. The Bicultural Attitude Scales (BAS; Khaleque, 2014) is a self-report instrument used to measure individuals' bicultural orientations or attitudes (Khaleque, 2006, 2008). It was developed based on content from focus group discussions on biculturalism (Cortes, Rogler, & Malgady, 1994). The BAS has two versions, and each consists of 16 items: (a) The Bicultural Attitude Scale for Parents, and (b) The Bicultural Attitude Scale for Children. They are almost identical except for minor differences in wording. Items in both versions are scored on a 4-point Likert-type scale from (1) "not at all" through (4) "very much." The first eight items (items 1 through 8) measure an individual's orientation toward the host culture, and the last eight items (items 9 through 16) measure an individual's orientation toward his or her heritage culture. Sample items in the BAS include, "How important is it to you to celebrate holidays in the way of your host country?"; "How much do you enjoy eating the food of your host country?"; and "How important is it to you to raise your children with values of your country of origin?"

A unicultural orientation is indicated by (1) a high score on the cultural values of the country of origin and a low score on the cultural values of the host country (in favor of the

country of origin), or (2) a high score on the cultural values of the host country and a low score on the country of origin (in favor of the host country). A high score on the cultural values of both countries, meanwhile, indicates a bicultural orientation. A low score on the cultural values of both countries indicates cultural alienation or marginality. Possible scores on the BAS for each range from a minimum of 8 through a maximum of 32, with a midpoint of 20. A score at or above the midpoint of the scale is considered a high score, and scores below the midpoint of the scale are considered low.

The current study used the Child and Parent versions of the BAS, which have been used to study cultural orientations of immigrant populations in different countries. Cronbach's alphas for the scale ranged from .80 to .85 (Khaleque, 2008, 2011; Khaleque, Rohner, Nahar, & Sharif, 2008; Podio-Guidugli, 2010). For the current study, the BAS obtained a Cronbach's alpha of .84. The reliability estimates for each scale can be seen in Table 3.

Parents' academic socialization questionnaire. Parents' academic socialization questionnaire (PASQ) is a self-report instrument designed to measure parents' perceptions of how much academic support they give in their child-rearing practices (Suizzo, 2009). Although the test includes 6 subscales and 45 total items, I have elected to use 25 items from three scales in this study. These items come from the following scales: emotional autonomy support, demanding hard work, and competitiveness. Items are scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale from (1) "never" through (5) "very often." Sample items on the PASQ include, "I am happy when my child learns to do something by him/herself" (emotional autonomy); "I tell my child that work comes before play" (demanding hard work); and "I push my child to enter competitions" (competitiveness). In previous studies, reliability for this scale was .91. In the current study, Cronbach's alphas for parents' academic socialization of emotional autonomy, for parents'

academic socialization of demanding hard work, and for parents' academic socialization of competitiveness were .85, .87, and .89, accordingly.

Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire for children. I used Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire for children to measure perceived maternal and paternal warmth. The Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ) is a self-report instrument designed to measure individuals' perceptions of parental acceptance-rejection (Rohner, 2005). Parental acceptance-rejection is measured on a bipolar scale with acceptance at one end of the continuum and parental rejection at the other. The Parent PARQ asks parents to assess the way they now treat their children, and the Child PARQ asks youths to respond about the way they feel their parents (mother or father) now treat them. Both contain 24 items, and both are subdivided into four scales: (1) warmth/affection (e.g., "My mother (father) makes me feel wanted and needed"), (2) hostility/aggression (e.g., "My mother (father) goes out of her way to hurt my feelings"), (3) indifference/neglect (e.g., "My mother (father) pays no attention to me as long as I do nothing to bother her"), and (4) undifferentiated rejection (e.g., "My mother (father) seems to dislike me").

Items in all versions are scored on a 4-point Likert-type scale from (1) "almost never true" through (4) "almost always true." The sum of the four scales (with the warmth/affection scale reverse-scored to create a measure of coldness/lack of affection) constitutes a measure of overall parental acceptance-rejection that ranges (in the short form) from a low of 24 (maximum perceived parental acceptance) to a high of 96 (maximum perceived parental rejection). Scores at or above 60 suggest significantly more parental rejection than acceptance.

The PARQ is available in more than 26 languages, including Korean, and has been used in more than 500 studies in approximately 60 nations and ethnic groups worldwide (Khaleque &

Rohner, 2002). In the meta-analysis, the vast majority of alphas meet or exceed the .80 criterion for confident usage of instruments in research, clinical, and applied settings—and almost all alphas are significant at the .001 level (Khaleque & Rohner, 2002; Rohner, 2005, 2011). Including the Korean version, coefficient alphas in the studies ranged from a low of .79 through a high of .97 for both the father and mother versions of the PARQ (Rohner, 2014). In addition, the measure of the convergent validity of each standard PARQ shows that all four scales are significantly related ($p < .001$) to their respective validation scales. For discriminant validity, every PARQ scale in the adult version (with two minor exceptions) correlated more highly with its validation scale than with any other scale in a given PARQ scale (Rohner, 2005). The evidence of reliability and validity of the instrument shows it to be outstanding for use in cross-cultural research. For the current study, Cronbach's alphas were .92 and .88 for perceived paternal warmth and maternal warmth, respectively.

Psychological Adjustment Questionnaire. Psychological adjustment is known to be associated with perceived parental acceptance and rejection (Khaleque & Rohner, 2012, Rohner, 2004). The child version of the Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ) is a 42-item self-report questionnaire designed to assess psychological adjustment among children (Khaleque & Rohner, 2012). It assesses an individual's self-perceptions with respect to seven personality dispositions: (1) hostility/aggression, including physical, verbal, or passive aggression, and problems with the management of hostility and aggression; (2) dependence or defensive independence depending on form, frequency, severity, timing, and longevity of perceived rejection; (3) feelings of positive or impaired self-esteem; (4) feelings of positive or impaired self-adequacy; (5) emotional (un)responsiveness; (6) emotional (in)stability; and (7) positive or negative worldview (Rohner, 2005, 2014).

Sample items on the PAQ include, " I have trouble controlling my temper" (hostility/aggression); "I like to be given encouragement when I have failed" (dependence); "I wish I could have more respect for myself" (negative self-esteem); "I feel inept in many of the things I try to do"(negative self-adequacy); "I feel distance and detached from most people" (emotional unresponsiveness); "I get upset when things go wrong" (emotional stability); and " I view the universe as a threatening, dangerous place" (worldview). Items in all versions are scored on a 4-point Likert-type scale from (1) "almost never true of me" through (4) "almost always true of me." The sum of the seven scales after reverse-scoring appropriate items constitutes a profile of an individual's overall psychological adjustment. Scores on the Child PAQ range from 42 through 168. Scores between 42 and 83 indicate healthy psychosocial functioning, scores between 84 and 104 indicate both good and poor psychosocial functioning, and scores at or over 105 reveal that the children experience more maladjustment than adjustment (Veneziano & Rohner, 1990; Rohner, 2014). The PAQ is available in 16 languages, including Korean, and has shown outstanding reliability and validity for use in cross-cultural research. Meta-analysis of responses from 1,015 youths who used Child PAQ in three nations and most ethnic minorities in the United States reveals that the overall mean weighted effect size of coefficient alpha is .82, and coefficient alphas for the PAQ in the studies range from .70 to .96 (Khaleque & Rohner, 2002; Rohner & Khaleque, 2005). For the current study, the Cronbach's alpha was .91.

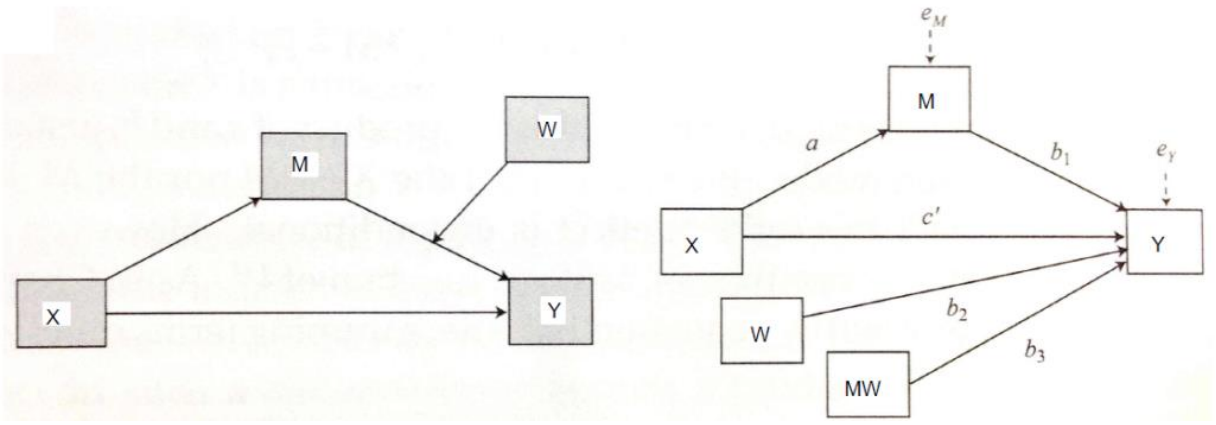
Demographic questionnaire. This questionnaire was used to elicit information about participants' lenth of stay in the United States, age, gender, level of education, major language spoken at home, marital status, religion, and other such demographic characteristics of the study participants.

Data Analysis

Preliminary Analysis. Prior to conducting subsequent analysis, I first analyzed the demographic overview of respondents, such as children's gender, citizenship, mothers' educations levels, and household income level. The descriptive statistics for mothers and children are presented in Table 1 and Table 2.

Then, means, standard deviations, and reliability estimates were computed for each scale: the bicultural attitude scale for mothers toward the US culture and Korean culture, children's bicultural attitude scale for the US culture and Korean culture, parents' academic socialization for three areas, acceptance-rejection questionnaire for perceived paternal and maternal warmth, and the child version of personality questionnaire. I also conducted zero-order correlations for the variables of interest (see Table 3).

Quantitative analysis: a moderated mediation analysis. I tested a moderated mediation model in which mother's acculturation-mother's attitude toward Korean; mother's attitude toward American culture-(X) would lead mother to provide different academic socializations at home (M) that affect child's academic achievement and psychological adjustment (Y) via child's perception of parental warmth-maternal warmth; paternal warmth-or acculturation-child's attitude toward Korean culture; child's attitude American culture-(W). According to this model, different levels of moderators (W) would lead to different indirect effects of mother's attitudes toward Korean and American culture on child's academic or psychological outcomes.



X: Mother's attitude toward Korean culture; mother's attitude toward American culture
Yi: Academic achievement; Yii: Psychological adjsutment
M: Academic socialization (emotional autonomy; hardwork; competitiveness)
W: Child's perceived maternal warmth; child's perceived paternal warmth;
child's attitude toward Korean culture; child's attitude toward American culture

Figure 5. The conditional process model corresponding to the study of immigrant mother's home-based involvement and child's academic and psychological outcomes in conceptual and statistical form.

The conceptual diagram corresponding to this hypothesized process and the form of a statistical diagram can be found in Figure 5. This is a conditional process model containing a mediation process (X→M→Y) combined with moderation of the M→Y effect by W. This conceptual diagram translates into a set of two equations because there are two consequent variables in the model (M and Y). The two equations representing this model are

$$M = i_1 + aX + e_M \qquad (1.1)$$

$$Y = i_2 + c'X + b_1M + b_2W + b_3MW + e_Y \qquad (1.2)$$

The regression coefficients were estimated using two ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression. OLS regression is a generalized linear modeling technique that may be used to

model a single response variable which has been recorded on at least an interval scale. The regression coefficients for M and W are conditional effects with their product in the model. In this model, b_1 estimates the effect of mother's academic socialization on the child's outcomes. This effect was expected to be statistically different from zero. When mother's acculturation attitude and parental warmth are held constant, child's receiving higher parental academic socialization would lead to child's higher academic achievement and better psychological adjustment.

The regression coefficient for b_2 estimates the effect of the moderator (parental warmth or child's acculturation attitude) on child's academic and psychological outcomes among mothers measuring zero in parental academic socialization. Arbitrarily selecting values of W and plugging these into equation 1.2 yields the effect of mother's academic socialization on child's outcomes among children's groups "low," "average," and "high" in the moderator. After this, hypothesis tests were conducted to determine whether the conditional effect is different from zero at those values.

To examine my hypotheses, I followed Hayes's (2013) PROCESS model 14 for SPSS with 10,000 bootstrap samples and 95% confidence interval. I assigned mother's acculturation attitude (mother's attitude toward Korean culture; mother's attitude toward American culture) as X, three different types of parents' academic socialization (emotional autonomy support, demanding hard work, and competitiveness) as M, child's acculturation attitude (child's attitude toward Korean culture; child's attitude toward American culture) and parental warmth (maternal warmth; paternal warmth) as W, and child's outcomes as Y. I ran PROCESS model 14 with different combinations of X, M, W, and Y. As additional options for PROCESS model 14, I selected mean center for products, heteroscedasticity-consistent SEs, and OLS confidence

intervals. This model yielded a simple mediation model to determine whether mother's academic socialization mediated the relationship between mothers' acculturation and children's psychological and academic outcomes. This model also allowed me to examine whether the relationship between mother's academic socialization and child's psychological and academic outcomes varied at different levels of child's perceptions of parental warmth or child's acculturation. I looked at the simple slopes of one variable at one SD above and below the mean of the moderator to get a sense of the nature of the interaction, following Hayes's recommendation (2005, 2013) for continuous predictor. The PROCESS output generated standard errors, *p*-values, R^2, and confidence intervals for direct effects as well as bootstrap confidence intervals for conditional indirect effects.

Qualitative analysis. In order to make a decision regarding what qualitative approaches to use, the rationale of using a specific paradigm and strategy of inquiry were considered. Strauss and Corbin (2008) grouped qualitative strategies of inquiry into five categories: grounded theory, phenomenology, life history, ethnography, and conversational analysis. Ethnographers believe that the ways in which people act are affected by their cultural milieu and ethnographic inquiry accepts the importance of cultural construction to both ideas and action (Handwerker, 2004). Because investigating the host and heritage cultures' influences on Korean immigrant mothers and their children are critical aspect in understanding academic socialization at Korean immigrant families, I used ethnographic inquiry that design the questions to encourage the participants to provide descriptive accounts to understand complex phenomena in depth (Spradley & McCurdy, 1994). Thus, to analyze the text, I chose the method described by LeCompte and Preissle termed *Theorizing*. This analysis method is used for ethnographic

qualitative study and this analysis strategy is compatible with other inductive analytic schemes developed by Schensul and Schensul, Spradley, and Glaser and Strauss (LeCompte, 1999).

I analyzed mothers' and children's interviews separately but followed the same analysis process for mothers' data and children's data. The analysis involved seven in-depth cases with mothers' and children's data. In looking for evidence and examples within each of the mother's and children's individual cases, similar patterns emerged. This method is a "cognitive process of discovering abstract categories and the relationship among them; it is used to develop or confirm explanations for how and why things happen as they do" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 239).

I expected that *theorizing* analysis would efficiently elicit the information about how Korean immigrant mothers' experiences, beliefs, and perceptions guided their parental practices and how their children perceived their parents' academic in relation to their parenting practices. The cognitive processes of this method are a) perceiving, b) comparing, contrasting, aggregating, and ordering, c) establishing linkages and relationships, and d) speculating. By identifying new domains, factors, subfactors, and variables, this analysis method is used to expand and further develop formative theoretical models. I read and analyzed the text following the methods described by LeCompte and Preissle (1993). As recommended by LeCompte and Preissle (1993), I took notes throughout reading the transcripts and constructed an outline to note regularities.

In the initial phase of data analysis, perceiving, to identify between-case variables, I looked at responses to questions and performed line-by-line coding. I found key similarities and differences across the cases. Afterward, variables were created. In the analysis of mothers' interviews, desiring a better life, guilty feelings, depression, church ministers, providing emotional support, and parents' visiting the school would be classified as examples of variables

that became evident after line-by-line coding. These variables clearly emerged in most of mothers' interviews but not from all of them

In the second phase of analysis, I compared, contrasted, aggregated, and differentiated these phenomena from one another and constructed linkages among variables. I had collections of variables or categories of variables that seemed to fit together or are related to one another. In other words, I organized them into conceptual taxonomies in categories of variables, subfactors, factors, and domains. For example, learning English, using human connection, accepting the status as an immigrant, studying and working at the same time, and working in several places were examples of subfactors, which were related to each other as a strategy of adjustment. Strategies of adjustment, reasons of immigration, challenges and emotions, and discrimination were examples of factors, which were related to each other as acculturation process. Under these conceptual taxonomies, domains were created in acculturation, the meaning of education, parental practice, and intergenerational interactions.

In the third phase of data analysis, *establishing linkages and relationships*, I identified which variables, subfactors, factors, and, ultimately, domains were associated with one another. For example, one domain is "the meaning of education," and, under that domain, four factors (e.g., educational goals, the benefits of education, principal agent for child's education, perceived father's role in education) were identified. Under one of the factors, the benefits of education, four subfactors were identified as follows: (a) protecting the child from financial struggles (e.g., higher incomes, better environment, and enough resources), (b) emotional satisfaction(e.g., compare to others, feeling of superiority, and feeling of self-worth), (c) family honor (e.g., respect from other people, and perceived discrimination in Korean American community), and

(d) tools for adjustment (e. g., easy to get a better job, and less discrimination in the main culture).

In the last phase, *speculating*, I not only formed the hypothesis to explain the data but also utilized the information in combination with what had been learned from prior research. In doing so, I was able to use this process to expand and further develop formative theoretical models. I applied the processes—a) perceiving, b) comparing, contrasting, aggregating, and ordering, c) establishing linkages and relationships, and d) speculating—in analyzing both mothers' and children's interview data.

In analyzing the 7 mother-child-pair interviews, I first divided transcriptions into two groups: mothers' interviews and children's interviews. I reported mothers' and children's interviews separately with examples of the analysis processes. In addition, variables, the basic unit under each domain, emerged in most of the interviews but not from all of them. However, each subfactor or factor had enough evidence to be presented in common domains.

Trustworthiness. Because interpreting the language that participants use was critical in analyzing data and writing findings, if an interview was conducted in Korean, I analyzed the contents first and then translated it into English. My goal was to avoid losing the original meanings of the contents in the process of analysis. Then, I compared variables from each interview and discovered their hierarchical relations.

To improve the trustworthiness of the results, I discussed with other Korean and English bilingual researchers, who majored in educational psychology or share my area of research. I carefully read the original texts and the translated texts; the other researchers compared the translated texts and the original texts to determine whether the translated texts held the same meanings as the original texts. I also discussed my analyses with experts in my area of research

to determine whether the analyzed domains were appropriate as well. In doing so, methods experts and content experts reviewed my research. Each result from mothers' and children's data analysis was presented with common domains. Some factors emerged in all cases but some did not. These factors are addressed in the discussion section. Exemplars were chosen to represent the domains, factors or subfactors.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

I used a mixed-methods design to investigate two research questions: 1) What role does parental warmth play in the relationship between parents' academic socialization and children's outcomes?; and 2) What role does children's acculturation play in the relationship between parents' academic socialization and children's outcomes? Then, in the qualitative part, I aimed to produce a rich description of the process of parents' acculturation and how it affects the parental practices, parental warmth, and children's psychological adjustment in Korean immigrant families.

Descriptive Statistics

Sample demographics. First, the descriptive statistics for children's and mothers' demographic variables were analyzed. Table 1 presents child participants' gender, place of birth, citizenship, academic level, and grades. A total of 104 chidren—60 male and 44 female—were included in the analyses. There were 32 middle school students and 72 high school students. Fifty-eight percent of children were born in the United States, while the others were born in South Korea. In terms of citizenship, the proportions of American, Korean, and dual citizenship were 87.7%, 2.9%, and 7.7 %, respectively. Thus, only about 3% of children held Korean citizenship, while others held American citizenship or both Korean and American citizenships. More than 90% of students had a GPA higher than 3.0 on 4 point scale.

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics of mothers' demographic variables. A total of 104 mothers (*M* age = 45.2 years) with an average length of 16.3 years in the United States were included in the analyses. In terms of education levels, mothers who had earned a high school diploma, associate's degree, undergraduate degree, and master's degree and above were 9.62%, 16.35%, 46.15%, and 26.92%, respectively. In other words, about 73% of mothers in this study

had a bachelor's degree or higher. The education levels of participants in the study are higher than the general population in the US across all ethnicities, compared to 53 percent of Korean immigrants ages 25 and over who have BA's and higher (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). However, the median age of immigrant mothers in the study is similar to that in the overall Korean immigrant population.

More than 88% of mothers in the sample are American citizens or permanent residents. However, 45% of mothers conversed with their children only in Korean, while only 5% of mothers reported that they conversed with their children solely in English; the other half of mothers used both English and Korean with their children. In 2015, the median household income among Korean immigrants was $62,000, which is higher than the median income for foreign- and native-born populations ($51,000 and $56,000, respectively). In the current study, about 50% of household incomes were higher than $80,000.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Children's Demographic Variables

Variables		n	%
Gender	Male	60	57.69
	Female	44	42.31
Citizenship	USA	93	87.7
	South Korea	3	2.9
	Dual	8	7.7
Place of Birth	USA	61	58.65
	South Korea	43	41.35
GPA	Below 2.5	0	0
	2.5 – 2.9	5	4.81
	3.0 – 3.4	14	13.46
	3.5 – 4.0	81	77.88
	No response	4	3.84
Grade	Middle school	32	30.77
	High school	72	69.23

Notes. *N*'s range from 100 to 104 due to occasional missing data.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Mothers' Demographic Variables

Variables		n	%
Citizenship	Korean	13	12.50
	Per. resident	50	46.08
	USA	41	39.42
Education	High school	10	9.62
	Associate's degree	17	16.35
	Undergraduate	48	46.15
	Master's and above	28	26.92
Income	Less than $40,000	16	15.38
	$40,000 – $80,000	36	34.62
	$80,000 – $120,000	32	30.77
	More than $120,000	16	15.38

Notes. *N*'s range from 100 to 104 due to occasional missing data. Per. Resident = permanent resident. Income = Annual Household Income.

Means, standard deviation, and reliability estimates. Means, standard deviation, and Cronbach's alphas were computed for measures used in the study (see Table 3). Cronbach's alphas ranged from .8 to .92.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviation, and Reliability Estimates of Each Measure

Measure	Numbers of Items	*M*	*SD*	α
M_BAS_Ho.	8	20.87	3.37	.80
M_BAS_Her.	8	24.31	3.16	.84
C_BAS_Ho.	8	25.59	3.47	.81
C_BAS_Her.	8	24.56	4.04	.86
M_Emot.	9	38.10	3.99	.85
M_Hard.	7	26.79	4.29	.87
M_Comp.	9	25.44	6.45	.89
C_FWarm.	24	36.78	10.29	.92
C_MWarm.	24	33.89	8.38	.88
C_PAQ	42	90.71	15.46	.91

Notes. *N*=104. M_BAS_Ho. = bicultural attitude scale for mother toward the host culture. M_BAS_Her. = bicultural attitude scale for mother toward the heritage culture. C_BAS_Ho. = bicultural attitude for child toward the host culture. C_BAS_Her. = bicultural attitude for child toward the heritage culture. M_Emot. = parents' academic socialization of emotional autonomy support. M_Hard. = parents' academic socialization of demanding hard work. M_Comp. = parents' academic socialization of competitiveness. C_FWarm. = child's perceived acceptance-rejection questionnaire for paternal warmth. C_MWarm. = child's perceived acceptance-rejection questionnaire for maternal warmth. C_PAQ = the child version of personality assessment questionnaire for psychological adjustment.

Then I conducted independent samples t-tests to determine the gender differences in attitudes toward Korea and the United States, mothers' academic socialization, psychological adjustment, and academic outcomes (see Table 4). However, no significant gender difference was found in any of variables. In addition, there was no difference in paternal warmth (t(102) = .911, p = .365, 95% CI [–2.194, 5.918]) between girls (M = 35.70, SD = 9.56) and boys (M = 37.57, SD = 10.81). Results indicated there was no significant difference in maternal warmth (t(102) = –1.493, p = .139, 95% CI [–5.748, .812]) between girls (M = 35.70, SD = 9.56) and boys (M = 37.57, SD = 10.81) either. Therefore, I did not control for child's gender, mother's academic socialization, or paternal and maternal warmth in the process of the moderation mediation analyses.

In addition, a paired-samples t-test was conducted to compare acculturation patterns of mothers and children. Results indicated children's American cultural orientation was significant higher (M = 25.587, SD = 3.471) than Mothers' American cultural orientation (M = 20.865, SD = 3.373), $t(103)$ = -10.091, p < .001. However, there was no significant difference in mothers' orientation (M = 24.308, SD =3.156) and children's orientation (M = 24.568, SD =4.039) toward Korean culture, t(103) = -.535, p = .594.

Table 4

Summary of Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent T-Test Results for Key Study Variables by Gender

	Gender						
	Male		Female				
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p*
C_BAS_Ho.	25.633	3.687	25.523	3.195	.160	104	.873
C_BAS_Her.	24.133	4.284	25.136	3.638	-1.256	104	.212
M_Emot.	38.533	3.519	37.497	4.538	1.310	104	.193
M_Hard.	27.183	4.196	26.250	4.410	1.097	104	.275
M_Comp.	25.850	7.018	24.875	5.627	.759	104	.449
C_FWarm.	37.567	10.815	35.704	9.567	.911	104	.365
C_MWarm.	32.850	7.258	35.318	9.610	`-1.493	104	.139
C_PAQ	91.083	17.748	90.205	11.818	.285	104	.776
C_GPA	3.760	.567	3.760	.489	.061	100	.952

Notes. *N*=100~104. M_BAS_Ho. = bicultural attitude scale for mother toward the host culture. M_BAS_Her. = bicultural attitude scale for mother toward the heritage culture. C_BAS_Ho. = bicultural attitude for child toward the host culture. C_BAS_Her. = bicultural attitude for child toward the heritage culture. M_Emot. = parents' academic socialization of emotional autonomy support. M_Hard. = parents' academic socialization of demanding hard work. M_Comp. = parents' academic socialization of competitiveness. C_FWarm. = child's perceived acceptance-rejection questionnaire for paternal warmth. C_MWarm. = child's perceived acceptance-rejection questionnaire for maternal warmth. C_PAQ = the child version of personality assessment questionnaire for psychological adjustment. C_GPA = Child's GPA.

Correlations. I conducted zero-order correlations for the variables of interest (see Table 5). Higher mother's orientation toward Korean culture was associated with higher emotional autonomy support, emphasis on hard work, and competitiveness in mother's academic socialization. However, only high emphasis on hard work in mother's academic socialization was associated with maternal warmth. An interesting correlation was found in paternal and maternal warmth. Child's psychological adjustment issue was negatively associated with their perceived paternal warmth and perceived maternal warmth. This means that high perceived paternal and maternal warmth were associated with fewer psychological adjustment issues for children. However, only highly perceived paternal warmth was associated with children's higher academic achievement; there was no significance correlation between perceived mother's warmth and child's achievement. In addition, high children's orientation toward Korean culture was associated with high perceived paternal warmth and maternal warmth.

Table 5

Correlation Among Key Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. M_BAS_Ho.	1										
2. M_BAS_Her.	.038	1									
3. M_Emot.	.107	.242*	1								
4. M_Hard.	.209*	.349**	.437**	1							
5. M_Comp.	.192	.338**	.374**	.576**	1						
6. C_BAS_Ho.	.028	.041	.048	.089	.205*	1					
7. C_BAS_Her.	–.022	.140	.013	.166	.126	.166	1				
8. C_FWarm.	–-.077	–.048	.012	.008	–.096	–.069	–.220*	1			
9. C_MWarm.	.026	.054	–.018	.240*	.029	–.067	–.199*	.612**	1		
10. C_PAQ	–.249*	–.167	–.199*	–.178	–.207*	–.131	–.048	.417**	.340**	1	
11. C_GPA	–.061	.172	.094	.157	.174	–.074	.040	–.238*	–.043	–.024	1

Notes. *N*=100~104. M_BAS_Ho. = bicultural attitude scale for mother toward the host culture. M_BAS_Her. = bicultural attitude scale for mother toward the heritage culture. C_BAS_Ho. = bicultural attitude for child toward the host culture. C_BAS_Her. = bicultural attitude for child toward the heritage culture. M_Emot. = parents' academic socialization of emotional autonomy support.

Table 5 (continued)

M_Hard. = parents' academic socialization of demanding hard work. M_Comp. = parents' academic socialization of competitiveness. C_FWarm. = child's perceived acceptance-rejection questionnaire for paternal warmth. C_MWarm. = child's perceived acceptance-rejection questionnaire for maternal warmth. C_PAQ = the child version of personality assessment questionnaire for psychological adjustment. C_GPA = Child's GPA. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Quantitative Analysis: A Moderated Mediation Analysis

Research question 1. What role does maternal or paternal warmth play in the relation between mother's academic socialization and child's academic and psychological outcomes?

To address this question, I conducted a moderated mediation analysis. The purpose of this analysis was to evaluate the extent to which maternal or paternal warmth moderates the indirect effect of mother's attitudes toward Korean and American culture on child's academic achievement and psychological adjustment issues through the mother's academic socialization.

Model 1 includes two predictors (mother's acculturation: mother's attitude toward Korean culture, mother's attitude toward American culture), three mediators (mother's academic socialization: emotional autonomy, hard work, and competitiveness in mother's academic socialization), two moderators (warmth: paternal warmth, maternal warmth), and two outcomes (child's academic achievement and child's psychological adjustment).

Prior to conducting the main analyses, data were screened for univariate and multivariate outliers. There were no multivariate outliers identified. Each model was tested with PROCESS Model 14 with a bootstrapping procedure that generated a sample size of 10,000 (Hayes, 2013). This approach included repeatedly sampling from the data set with replacement to create an estimate of the sampling distribution of the conditional effects and to generate confidence intervals for these effects. The conditional effect was deemed significant if the confidence interval did not include zero.

To conduct a moderated mediation analysis of Model 1, I repeated PROCESS Model 14 with different combinations of independent, mediator, moderator, and outcome variables. However, the conditional effect of paternal and maternal warmth was not supported in Model 1. Appendix S presents SPSS PROCESS interaction results of the moderated mediation for Model 1.

Research question 2. What role does child's acculturation attitudes toward Korean and American culture play in the relation between the mother's academic socialization and child's academic and psychological outcomes?

I conducted a moderated mediation analysis to estimate the extent to which child's acculturation attitude moderate the indirect effect of mother's acculturation attitude on children's academic and psychological outcomes via mother's academic socialization. For the second research question, I changed only the moderators, child's attitude toward Korean culture and child's attitude toward American culture, while keeping mother's acculturation attitudes toward Korean or American culture as a predictor, academic socialization as a mediator, and child's outcomes as the predicted variables. In other words, except two moderators (child's attitude toward Korean culture, child's attitude toward American culture), Model 2 has the same predictors, mediators, and outcomes as Model 1.

To conduct a moderated mediation analysis of Model 2, I repeated PROCESS Model 14 with different combinations of independent, mediator, moderator, and outcome variables. However, there was not a significant conditional effect of the moderator, child's acculturation attitudes toward Korean or American culture, in Model 2. Appendix T presents SPSS PROCESS interaction results of the moderated mediation for Model 2. As none of the results based on the results of the bootstrapping analyses were significant, I stopped the moderated mediation analysis. Subsequent to analyzing the qualitative results, I found that Korean immigrant children did not suffer from their mothers' emphasis on hard work in supporting the children's educational achievement. I decided to run additional models with maternal warmth as a mediator. Those results of further investigation follow the qualitative results.

Qualitative Analysis

Mothers' Data

I analyzed mothers' acculturation attitudes toward Korean culture and American culture, their academic socialization practices at home, meaning of parents' educational goals and expectations for their children, and transferring ways of parental beliefs and interactions with the child. I described mothers' demographic chracteristics and made brief notes on mothers in Table 6 and Table 7, respectively. Then I presented the results within four domains: acculturation, parental practices, the meaning of eduation, and intergenerational interaction.

Table 6

Demographic Summary of Mothers

Name	Age	Occupation	Length of Stay (Year)	Legal Status	Child (Gender, Grade)
SunJung	45	Clothing store clerk	12	US citizen	Grace (F, 12th)
SoYoung	46	Nursing Home assistant	14	US citizen	BoMi (F, 12th)
EunHee	45	Piano teacher, child care assistant	13	Permanent resident	Joshua (M, 10th)
JiEun	43	Nurse assistant	15	US citizen	Layla (F, 8th)
SunMi	45	Laundry shop clerk	20	Permanent resident	Daniel (M, 10th)
MinJung	45	Master student	3	Legal visitor	JungChan (M, 7th)
InHyo	45	Homemaker	8	Permanent resident	SuA (F, 11th)

Table 7

Brief Notes on Mothers

Name	Brief Notes
SunJung	She has only one child, Grace. Grace is her daughter from her first marriage, and when Grace was four, SunJung divorced. Three years later, in 2005, SunJung married a Korean American soldier, who was stationed in Korea, and came to the United states. She lived in all the places her husband was stationed and then divorced in 2009. When she was living in South Korea, Sun graduated from high school and went straight into the workforce. She never imagined moving to America until she met her second husband. Currently, Sun is working at a clothing store run by a Korean American owner. She told me that even with Grace's income combined with hers, it is difficult to make a living.
SoYoung	For her husband's education, SoYoung's family immigrated to the United States in 1999. Her husband earned a doctoral degree in the United States and has been working in a Korean immigrant church. SoYoung received a bachelor's degree in Korea and now is working as an assistant in a nursing home that has extended its services to elderly Korean immigrants. She has three children: BoMi in the 12th grade and dizygotic twins in the 8th grade. Her parents-in-law and her parents still support SoYoung's family financially, especially for her children's lives. She is rarely exposed to situations that require her to speak English. During the interview, she also shared her experiences of having a son diagnosed with ADHD and her difficulties to get help in various areas due to limited English proficiency in a new land.

Table 7 Continued

Name	Brief Notes
EunHee	EunHee's family came to U.S. on a visitor's visa 13 years ago. During their stay at U.S., they were able to change their legal status to permanent residents. She has three sons and her husband is a pastor of a small Korean immigrant church. His income is not enough to afford to family needs, and they do not receive any support from their families in Korea. Thus, Eunhee has been keeping several jobs, teaching the piano, being a child care assistant, and doing homestays. Due to her busy schedule, on one dinner night on a weekend, I interviewed Sue and her son at the McDonald's nearby her house. She told me that her house was very small.
JiEun	JiEun's father-in-law came to U.S. to do difficult labor for better life in the 1970-1980s. After JiEun's father-in-law got his American citizenship, he tried to bring JiEun's husband to U.S., but U.S Embassy declined her husband's entrance to U.S. several times. However, after their marriage, her husband was given a family visa to come and live in U.S. When they came U.S. 15 years ago, both could barely speak English though they earned bachelor's degrees in Korea. They attended a community college for around 2 years and worked at night. JiEun worked anywhere she could work, such as grocery store, donut shop, building cleaning services, and the cleaner's. Currently, her husband runs building cleaning services and she works at a nursing home as a nurse assistant. Layla is JiEun's the only child. She decided not to have any more children due to several years of pain and difficulties while rearing Layla. She bought her first house about a year ago, and invited me to her house for the interview.

Table 7 Continue

Name	Brief Notes
SunMi	SunMi is a working mom. She majored in English literature in a prestigious university in Korea. She moved to the United States with her husband in 1997. Both planned to pursue their doctoral degrees; however, both left school due to financial difficulty. She was the only person interviewed in English. She worked in a beauty supplies shop as a clerk for 3 years and is working now in a laundry cleaner owned by a Korean American. Her family has been living in a small two-bedroom apartment since 1997. In the meantime, they achieved permanent resident status. Now, her husband is pursuing his doctoral degree. Their only child is in the 10th grade. Daniel was born in the United States.
MinJung	MinJung was a math teacher in Korea. Before moving to U.S., her family stayed in Kuwait for five years due to her husband's job. Three years ago, MinJung and her two sons moved to the United States for the children's education, and her husband stayed in Kuwait for his job. She is currently working on her master's degree and plans to start working on her PhD after that. MinJung was the only mother of those interviewed without citizenship or permanent residency. Several Koreans who come to United States on a nonimmigrant visa for temporary visits such as business, work, or studying then attain the legal status to stay in the United States. MinJung's family was invited for the interview because they could represent those Korean families who plan to stay in the United States permanently. MinJung's house was a spacious four-bedroom house with simple furniture. During her interview with me, her two sons studied upstairs.

Table 7 Continue

Name	Brief Notes
InHyo	Due to her husband's pursuit of a PhD, InHyo's family moved to United States 8 years ago. Currently, her family is in the process of receiving US citizenship. InHyo has a daughter in the 11th grade and a son in the 9th. Since her husband was busy with schoolwork when they moved, InHyo had to take care of most of the household tasks. It was a serious challenge to her due to the language barrier. From her perspective, Korean Americans in the United States are different than Koreans in Korea. She tried to figure everything out by herself when she came.

Domain 1: Acculturation. The acculturation domain had six factors: reason for immigration, preparation for immigration, strategy of adjustment, challenges and emotions, discrimination, and helpful resources in mothers' lives as immigrants.

***Reason of immigration and preparation for immigration*.** Korean immigrant mothers had different reasons for immigrating to the United States. Including international marriage, they moved to the United States for the common reasons of pursuing their education, working, or having a better life.

Except for SunMi, who had planned to pursue her PhD in the United States, all the mothers expressed that they had not prepared themselves for life in the United States, especially in terms of learning English. JiEun said,

> We didn't come to study. We came to work and live. We were thinking of how to get ourselves a good life here. We took English classes in commmunity college in the morning or afternoon, then we worked at night. We finished the ESL course and worked full-time later.

EunHee added, "Honestly, since we had kids, we thought having them grow in this new environment would be good. That's why we came and are still here."

***Strategy of adjustment*.** Though most of the mothers expressed limited preparation for immigration, they informed me of several adjustment strategies: learning English, using connections, accepting an immigrant status, finding jobs for non-English speakers, holding jobs in multiple places, and studying by themselves or in the institutions. They searched the Internet to get information about jobs and places for educational programs and asked people for help in finding jobs. All of the mothers were very eager to find ways to adjust to life in the United States. InHyo stated, "It was difficult, but we tried our best to adjust to our life here. More than thoughts of needing to go back, our thoughts were filled with how much harder we needed to work to adjust quickly."

Challenge and emotions. Mothers described the various challenges they experienced as Asian immigrants. The language, English, was one of the main topics that was mentioned. Issues related to their limited English proficiency were repeatedly brought up during the interviews, and the feeling of helplessness was sometimes related to the limited language proficiency. Other challenges they experienced were experiences as Asian minorities, mental health issue, limited support, and financial difficulties. The difficulties had physical and psychological effects on the mothers. For example, JiEun still struggles with feelings of guilt and sorrow. She is not the only one; other mothers also expressed feelings of depression and remorse while sharing their past challenges. JiEun shared her remorse:

> I've felt guilty about not being able to have been with my daughter more because I've been putting her through places like daycare since she was one. I regretted not being able to spend more time with her. When she was four or five, I should've stayed at home to be with her …. but earning money was crucial. It hurts me to think that I hurt her.

The other challenge was related to mothers' limited relationships after moving to the United States. Six mothers expressed feelings of strong loneliness because it was hard for them to find friends. They wished to have people to share their lives with and to get practical advice and emotional support. MinJung said, "To be honest, it wasn't just a language barrier. It wasn't that anyone was treating me badly; I just felt very alone at the time. It was hard for me to find anyone who I thought would be willing to listen to all my struggles."

Discrimination. Only three mothers, SunJung, JiEun, and SunMi, mentioned discrimination when I asked mothers to describe the challenges they have experienced since immigration. JiEun shared her experiences:

> I have experienced it personally ... lots of disadvantages. I don't think people like foreigners. For example, in my job, I don't speak the best English but I am getting the same pay as they are. From my coworkers' perspectives, it's not a pleasant thing to accept so they try not to accept me as a coworker. But, what should I do? I just need to work harder than them so that they might accept me.

On the other hand, InHyo, EunHee, and SoYoung did not express concerns about discrimination on themselves or their children. When they were asked about barriers or challenges they or their children might confront, their responses were very similar. They did not believe their children would suffer from discrimination. SoYoung's answer represented this belief: "In American society? I think that there may be… but my children speak English fluently. I think if you work really hard and speak English well, nothing bad will happen to them. They will be at least average at lowest."

However, whether they expressed concerns about discrimination or not, all the mothers conveyed similar perspectives on discrimination. They believed that working hard is a way to overcome discrimination. Even when they accepted their limitations as an Asian minority, they thought that trying harder than lay American would be the way to overcome discrimination, rather than fighting against discrimination.

Helpful resources. Even though these mothers struggled with discrimination, a language barrier, finances, and emotional and physical troubles, they commented on the helpful resources supporting their immigrant lives, such as their religious faith, Korean immigrant churches, Korean schools, Korean cultural organizations, extended family members in Korea, and Korean and American friends. In SoYoung's case, her parents and her husband's parents still support them, especially when it comes to their children's education and their visits to Korea. For Korean immigrant mothers, having and building connections are particularly critical in getting support in the process of adjusting to life in the United States. The networks were built through church ministers or members, classmates, parents of their children's friends, or Internet communities.

Using these networks, they attained information about education, the school system, job opportunities, the housing market, and legal matters. Mothers also communicated that their personal faith and Korean immigrant churches were of great help with emotional comfort and strength. Specifically, some Korean immigrant churches provided them with counseling programs for children and parents. In addition, communication with family members and friends in South Korea was also cited as a helpful resource for their psychological stress.

Domain 2: Parental practices. Korean immigrant mothers practiced several different ways to facilitate their children's academic attainment. Three factors were found: parental supports, strategies, and conversations. They supported their children emotionally and materially. They also facilitated different strategies in supporting their children's academic achievement, such as asking their children or other parents to identify their children's needs or providing extra tutoring. Conversation was one of crucial ways they supported their children's academic achievement. Mothers used conversations as a way of supporting and as a part of strategies in supporting children's academics so that I set aside conversation as a factor under parental practices. Their conversation topics varied: academics, racialization, discrimination, and spirituality. Mothers also described their perceptions of the children's fathers' role in the children's education. Mothers' perceptions of their spouse's role determined the mothers' role as well.

***Parental supports*.** Mothers provided different types of support for their children's academics: encouraging children's autonomy, providing needs the children requested, and providing a good academic environment. Mothers believed that the child was in charge of directing his or her education. However, the ways of supporting children's autonomy were different. For example, while SoYoung and her husband simply agreed to her daughter decision

for her education, JiEun's, SunMi's, and MinJung's families offered very active support. They searched for information about schools and asked potential neighbors to find the best options for their children's education. In addition, all mothers expressed that they tried to provide needs their children asked such as sending them the HakWon and purchasing education related materials.

Strategies. Korean immigrant mothers' strategies to support their children's achievement took five different forms of subfactors. Mothers' goals for their children and parental competency seemed to determine the types of strategies they adapted in supporting children. I presented five subfactors. However, two strategies among five subfactors were employed by all mothers regardless of different educational goals: emphasizing hard work and providing emotional comfort through food.

Emphasis on hard work. Mothers understood their own children's abilities, whether their children were high achievers or not. Most of them mentioned that as long as their children did their best, it was okay if they brought home a low score. SunMi said, "Basically, I want him to do his best whatever he does. I don't want him to be perfect in every subject, but I don't accept it if he doesn't do his best." In addition, all mothers had a perception that getting a good grade in the United States was much easier than doing so in South Korea. Thus, mothers were likely to think that if the children receive a lower grade, it would be the result of less effort.

Emotional comfort through food. Five mothers expressed that they could not do much to support their children's academic achievement. Due to their limited English proficiency, they could not teach their children after the third or, at the latest, fourth grade. Mothers stated that, in Korea, they did everything for their children's education. However, they felt they could not do anything in supporting their children's education. Regarding situations in which they felt they

could do nothing much for their children, mothers supported their children through food. EunHee represented very clearly Korean immigrant mothers' approach in supporting their children.

> I want my children to be in an environment where, when they come home from school, they will come home to a loving mother that cares for them and makes them yummy foods. Other things, I can't: I don't have money to hire an expensive tutor for him; I can't teach what he is learning now. The only thing that I can do for them is to be there for them and feed them well. At least, I can do that for them. I think that is an important role of a mother and so that kids can be emotionally and physically healthy. Then, they will be able to focus on what they need to do. Yeah, at least I can do that.

Asking kids and other parents. All of the mothers expressed their limited knowledge of the US school system and academic content. They informed me that they helped their children with their homework when they were in the third or the fourth grade. After then, they could not help them with academic work because the content was getting too difficult for them. Thus, as a strategy to support children's academics, mothers asked the children whether they had any assignments or had finished their assignments. That was an attainable work for mothers and a way to let the children know that their parents were watching. Except for SoYoung and SunJung, all of the mothers asked their children about their schoolwork every evening. The child with older siblings would ask the older siblings if they had questions. In addition, two mothers told me that they also asked other parents about kids' schoolwork or school activities to verify the information their kids had told them.

Being a parent-teacher. Though these mothers expressed difficulty with language, they were still able to help their children when they were young. In addition, mothers also aided their children's academic paths in indirect ways, such as providing the children with needed materials or teaching them effective study strategies. Six mothers reported that they searched the Internet to find educational materials to support children's academics; found information about the areas

in which children expressed interest for college majors or future careers; and taught them study strategies they had used in Korea.

Providing extra tutoring. Mothers mentioned that other Korean immigrant parents they met in Korean immigrant society might provide their children with extra tutoring, such as sending their children to a learning center (called *HakWon* in Korean) owned by Korean immigrants or hiring a personal tutor. Regarding extra tutoring for children, all the mothers compared their current style of aid for the children to the tutoring systems in Korea. According to the mothers, it was a kind of norm that children in Korea went to the HakWon tutoring centers after school to preview or review the school materials and these Korean children go to at least a few different HakWons, such as the piano HakWon, the English HakWon, the math HakWon, and other HakWons for various extra activities.

Though they were familiar with daily extra tutoring in Korea and saw some Korean immigrant parents provide it, all the mothers except MinJung did not provide extra tutoring for their children. They gave two main reasons for not providing extra tutoring. First was their limited finances. The other reason these mothers did not send their children to the HakWon was their perceptions of the US school system. Most of all, all mothers stated that it was easier for their children to earn good grades in the United States than in Korea. In addition, mothers knew that children could get help from teachers. Thus, from their perspective, there is no reason to send their children to the HakWon for extra help. Here is a very clear example of mothers' ideas on the US school system:

> In America, from my perspective, it's way easier to go to good colleges than do in Korean. You can use support systems, teachers, volunteers, and other resources. I am not saying everybody can do that but, you don't need to give up. You know what I mean?

However, this does not mean that these mothers never sent their children to the learning center. When they found areas in which their children really needed extra help that could not be addressed by teachers' or parents' temporary help, they would send their children to the learning center. Preparation for the SAT was the most common reason parents sent their children to the learning center, usually for one or two months.

Conversation. Mothers told me that they conversed with their children as part of their parental practices as a support as well as a strategy. When mothers mentioned conversational topics, they interchanged *I*, *my husband*, and *we* as subjects. In other words, they rarely differentiated between their husbands' opinions and their own. Mothers mentioned four main topics they talked with their children at home: academics, racialization as a Korean, discrimination, and spirituality.

Academics. All mothers talked about academics with their children daily. SoYoung thought that BoMi did very well at school, so she felt that she did not need to push her daughter for academics. However, all mothers, including SoYoung, held conversations about academics to a greater or lesser degree. In SunMi's case, she continuously reminded her son of what was important. SunMi described that it was important to get Daniel to understand the relationship between his choices and their results. Therefore, as a part of her parental practices to facilitate academic achievements, SunMi and her husband kept talking to her son about the importance of education and they would always support him achieve his goals. She said,

> I think he may not acknowledge it, but I hear his comments here and there and his comments reflected our conversations. You know, people are listening. I know he listens whether he verbally says something different or not. I think there are different sources that affect him, but I believe what I speak to him influence him to study."

SoYoung was different from SunMi in her reasons for conversation with BoMi. SoYoung's practice to facilitate her child's education was closely intertwined with her priority in rearing her child: health first, and education is of secondary importance. SoYoung had limited knowledge about her child's academics, including homework, subjects BoMi took, schools BoMi was interested in, and so on. Due to this lack of knowledge, she and BoMi did not have conversations regarding academics as frequently as other parents and children. If she converses with BoMi about academics, it would be about once a semester to answer BoMi's questions about majors in college. Otherwise, it occurs when BoMi's grandparents in Korea call them to ask about BoMi's academic level because SoYoung's parents and her husband's parents in Korea had high expectations regarding BoMi's achievement.

Racialization. Korean immigrant parents taught their children about their Korean identity, the importance of the Korean language, and Koreans' traditional manners, such as greetings and respecting elders. Korean food was the basic meal, and Korean grocery shops were the main place for buying food. In addition, most of the time, mothers conversed with their children in Korean. Korean food and language were ingrained into their daily lives.

Most of the mothers emphasized the importance of the Korean language and desired for their children to be proficient in it. MinJung was the only one who did not send her child to Korean school. When they moved to the United States three years ago, MinJung wanted JungChan to catch up with the American curriculum, so she did not want JungChan to spend time on maintaining the Korean language. Most of the mothers have sent their children to Korean school every Saturday or Sunday for two to ten years. In addition to their school subjects, these children needed to study Korean and spend 1 to 5 hours on their Korean homework every week. However, when the kids moved to higher grades, they started to

complain about attending Korean school. It seemed that mothers that believed kids' speaking fluent Korean was a way for them to be true Koreans. InHyo represented other mothers ideas:

> Even if I had changed my citizenship, even if they live here, I would want my children to always remember their roots. Your language is what defines you. If you forget how to speak Korean, then you are only Korean on the outside, not the inside. Your children might not be the best at it, but I would still want them to know Korean well enough to communicate. Also, they are living in a Korean immigrant community where Korean is commonly used. In the Korean community, they need to be polite and keep the Korean culture and manners.

There were two main driving forces evident in Korean immigrant parents' conversation regarding racialization. First, mothers considered their children Korean even though they live in the United States and have US citizenship. Second, it is shame on the children if they can't speak their heritage language. The children's Asian appearance would make people presume that they would know the language of their original country. Mothers believed that people in America would make fun of their children if they did not know the heritage language and culture.

Discrimination. While mothers taught their children about their Korean identity and Korean culture, only three mothers had held a conversation with their children about discrimination. SunJung, JiEun, and SunMi expressed their experiences with discrimination or concerns about discrimination in their process of adjustment in the United States. SunMi stated,

> You know, now, he is in school and has good relationships with most of his school friends of different races. But in real society he will face differences between people of other races and him. I tell him, 'You are an Asian and minority immigrant. You can't change the fact, and you can't hide that. The only thing that I can do is help you do your best to achieve what you want to achieve. Beyond that, it is in your hands.'

Domain 3: The meanings of education. One of the most important domains to understand in Korean immigrant mothers' academic socialization was related to their beliefs on education, such as goals, the benefits of education, driving forces behind their children's

education, and perceptions on academic achievement. Asking for mothers' perceptions on their spouses' roles in their children's education also helped me understand each parent's meaning of education in facilitating their children's academics.

Goals. One of the important aspects to understand about Korean immigrant mothers' educational goals is the difference between academic attainment and education in terms of children being Korean or moral human beings. In fact, for Korean immigrant mothers, teaching their children Korean manners was likely related to teaching them to be ethical human beings. Mothers emphasized the importance of keeping Korean manners in their teaching: greeting elders, helping other people as a member of the community, behaving well-mannered, and so on.

The other educational goal stated by mothers was to guide their children to reach the summit. All mothers described their children's strengths and weaknesses. While emphasizing their children's hard work, they also revealed their wish for their children's happiness. All mothers' expectations for their children's minimum education was a bachelor's degree, but it seemed to be a very low expectation to most of the mothers.

The benefits of education. Mothers expressed their thoughts of the benefits of education. There were four main ideas: protecting the child from financial struggles, emotional satisfaction, social reputation, and tool for adjustment in U.S.

Protecting the child from financial struggles. Six mothers stated that it was important for their children to not experience the financial struggles that the parents did after immigrating to the United States. Though these mothers expressed hopes for their children to pursue what they loved, they conditioned that what the children pursued should be a way for them to secure jobs in the future. Except for MinJung, who is pursuing her master's degree in the United States, all of the mothers mentioned their downward status with jobs they held currently, which they had

never imagined for them in Korea. Due to the financial difficulty they have experienced and still struggle with, these mothers strongly expressed that their children should utilize the benefit of education to secure a good financial status.

Emotional satisfaction and family honor. Three mothers stated satisfaction as a benefit of education. These mothers said that Korean people around them push their children for high academic achievement. They did not want their children to feel pressured or inferior to them. They felt that at least their children were not inferior to other Asian or Korean kids. Thus, as a benefit of good education, receiving good grades or going to a prestigious college was emotional satisfying for the children and for them. In addition, the mothers perceived high expectations for their children's academic achievement not only from people in the Korean immigrant community but also from extended family members or friends in Korea. For example, SoYoung said, "My parents want BoMi to go to Harvard (laugh). They say to her that's their dream. 'Please let us see one of our family members go to Harvard.' I bet my parents would try their best to support her." Receiving a good education, especially with high achievement, was a great honor for their family members in Korea.

Principal agent for child's education. When mothers discussed their parental involvement in their children's academic achievement, their answers reflected the principal agent in the children's academic attainment.

Child's autonomy. All mothers answered that children's interests, goals, aspirations, or personalities determined the direction of the children's education, and they tried to support their children accordingly. Some mothers made very similar notes to SunMi's: "You know, most Korean parents want their children to become medical doctors or lawyers. I know that I can't

force Daniel to become somebody that he is not interested in. I know I can't do anything but just support him."

However, there were different levels of mother's participation in realizing children's interests or aspirations. For example, SunMi listened to Daniel's opinion in determining his classes or extra activities, but she had the ultimate power to approve his schedule. In other words, SunMi and her husband tried to provide a supportive home environment for Daniel so that he could do things that aligned with his interests. However, SunMi emphasized parental approval in her child's selections of his activities. SunMi believed that, in doing so, she prevented him from encountering some difficulties and helped him reach his full potential. On the other hand, SoYoung, InHyo, and EunHee limited their opinions in supporting their children's academic autonomy. For example, SoYoung basically agreed with what her child decided regarding extra activities, study schedules, and curriculum. In terms of academics, her child took the initiative, and the parents simply agreed with the child's decision. SoYoung thought that the child knew more than her, and the child was excellent in managing her academics. In this case, the child was in charge of directing her education.

Parents' anticipation for the child. Though mothers expressed child's goals or anticipations is the primary force in facilitating an environment for child's academics, four mothers seemed to impose their wishes on their children's goals and aspiration directly or indirectly. These immigrant mothers expressed that they were hungry for a shot at upward mobility for their children because they have been experiencing downward mobility. Then they strongly believed the upward mobility was possible so that they gave child information about the prestigious colleges and jobs and held conversation with the child to motivate them. EunHee said,

> My husband does building cleaning service. We are just trying to make money to eat and live off of, and only this kind of job was opened up to us. You know, in Korea, this kind of job is for uneducated people.… Layla enjoys talking so he willed Layla to desire for that. Now, she told us she wants to be a lawyer.

Comparison with other Asian students. Furthermore, comparison with children's peers was one of the driving forces for children's education. Not only parents but also children had their eyes on what the children's friends were doing for high academic achievement and were considering how they would be evaluated by other parents or friends. For example, MinJung said that Korean immigrants around her often asked her how she supported her children's academic achievement, and they expressed that sending children to HakWon or hiring a private tutor was necessary to support their academic achievement. Not doing what other Korean mothers do made her feel as if she broke from the norm.

> People ask me whether my children go to the HakWon or whether I provided a private tutor for my children. If I say no, they assume that my children are high achievers or they might have other special ability in arts, music, or sports. They couldn't believe I made my kids stop going to a tutoring center because I was too tired to give them rides. They told me that they envied me because I had an option not to send my children to the HakWon. So, knowing that people assume my boys are high achievers and compare them with their children, I feel I can't fail them. Also, it might be shameful for me or my children if they don't do well.

Perceived father's role in education. When mothers talked about their academic socialization, they seemed to have different perceptions of fathers' and mothers' roles in supporting children's education. Whether they made a clear distinction in the different roles or not, their answers seemed to convey a different perception of fathers' roles from mothers' roles. Due to the perceived roles of parents, mothers seemed to support children's academic achievement in different ways from their spouses. They stated how fathers supported their children's education: supporting them financially, providing children with moral teaching rather than specific school subjects, and guiding and supervising the children at a macro level rather

than a micro level. Thus, fathers seemed to have less interaction with the children regarding facilitating their education. Mothers specified their daily behaviors in assisting their children's education: giving rides; asking about kids' needs, such as food, books, and other materials; feeding snacks and meals; asking about their friends; taking them for extra activities; communicating with other parents; and so on.

Domain 4: Intergenerational interactions with the children. During the interview, one of the main themes that emerged was parents' interaction with their children. I emphasized the word *intergenerational* here because there were dissimilar approaches to a certain subject between parents and children. The experiences that parents and children had in the United States were different. I found four different subjects mentioned by mothers while talking about differences between them and their children: identity beliefs; attitude toward American and Korean cultures; handling conflicts; and, regarding the intergenerational differences and conflicts, mothers' perceived feelings of their immigrant children at home and school. Factors that brought about positive outcomes in parents' relationships with their children were also discussed.

Identity beliefs. Mothers considered their identities in three different ways: Korean, Korean American, and minority in the United States. Six mothers identified as Korean and one mother as a Korean American. In addition, four mothers emphasized their children's identities as being minorities. In other words, these four mothers considered themselves Korean, but for their children, they emphasized their minority status in the United States.

Korean. SunJung turned the volume up regarding her identity as a Korean. She said, "I considered myself Korean, of course. I know I am an American citizen, but I don't feel like one. That was just for the sake of moving and has nothing to do with who I actually am." It seemed

that SunJung sought US citizenship just for the practical benefit and that it did not affect her identity as a Korean. In JiEun's case, she also considered herself Korean, but her reason was more focused on her personality being shaped in Korea. JiEun also said,

> I think I am Korean. You can't erase what raised you up to make you, and it becomes who you are now. I still hold all of the Korean values and culture. I will most likely die here; however, no matter where I live, I will always consider myself Korean.

Korean American. SoYoung was the only mother who considered herself Korean American. She said, "I think I am right in the middle because there are parts of me that have changed over the eight years, though that is also not a very long period of time. I am saying 'parts of me.' It means there are parts of me that have not changed over since my immigration."

Minority. While all other mothers except SoYoung described themselves as Koreans, two mothers defined them as a part of the minority group in the United States. However, mothers stated this identity as a minority as an addition to Korean identity. In other words, the identity as a Korean came first even though they held the identity concept as a minority.

Causes of conflict. While six mothers considered themselves Korean and one mother Korean American, all mothers except for MinJung thought of their children as Korean American. This was because their children were perceived as dissimilar to themselves. Thus, these mothers experienced intergenerational conflicts with their children. Three different areas emerged in mothers' descriptions of their conflicts with their children: emotional distance, children's and mothers' different manners in daily lives, and different levels of identities as Koreans.

Emotional distance. Though all Korean immigrant mothers in the current study understood that their children were different from them and tried to ease their children's stress over their studies or cultural adjustment, they noted that they felt emotional distant from their children and vice versa; in turn, they experienced conflict with their children. JiEun's statements

were particularly illustrative in explaining the relationship between her conflict with her child and her busy schedule, which caused emotional distance in the parent-child relationship:

> I was working to give her a better life and future … but I also knew that she wanted to be with me. I could visibly see her struggling—sadness, dissatisfaction, and anger. However, as soon as I got home, I would tell Layla that I am tired and go straight to bed to sleep. I didn't have the energy to check on her. At one point Layla would pull out her hair so she had a bald spot but she didn't talk to me or listen to me.

Different manners. All mother expressed that they were so used to Korean manners even after long years of immigrant's life in U.S. Thus, it was common their Americanized children pointed out their Korean manners, which could sometimes be considered unmannerly behaviors in U.S. SunJung shared similar memories of other mothers such as her eating habit which her daughter hated: "Grace hates it when people talk with some food in their mouth, and also hates it when people make sounds when they eat. It's all just stressful. It makes me think of how we really are different."

Different beliefs. In their descriptions of daily life and issues they have faced, mothers revealed that different beliefs between parents and children caused conflicts. Beliefs regarding independency were very different. From mothers' perspectives, in America, independence is very important and their children want to be independent like their friends; however, in Korea, children are so dependent on parents and parents and children think that is normal. Mothers stated that their children got angry and seemed to want to be independent from their parents, but from the mothers' perspectives, it was too early for the children to be independent. As children were getting older, issues of conflict were raised, such as when to start dating, having a part-time job, learning Korean, or preferences on appearance or clothing. Most mothers thought that the children needed to wait to have boyfriends or girlfriends until they went to college. However, mothers reported that the children felt differently and expressed strong complaints, saying, "We

are here in America. Most of my friends have a boyfriend or girlfriend." In addition, all mothers believed that children's having part-time jobs would interrupt their academic achievement and that their time should be invested in academics, which would bring a better return in the long run. Therefore, mothers stated that their spouses and they believed it would be better for them—the parents—to work harder to fulfill the family's financial needs at the moment.

Mother's perceptions of child's feelings. When mothers discussed their parental practices and interactions with their children, they expressed what they perceived their children were feeling. The feeling of being pressured and anxious was discussed in lieu of academic achievement. Four mothers said their children seemed to know that their parents expected high achievement from them even though it was expressed verbally only rarely; and most Asian friends around them were high achievers, so their children did not seem to think they especially shone in academics.

Factors for the positive bonding in parent-child relationship. While mothers talked about parent-child conflict that in turn weakened their bonds with their children, these mothers also mentioned several factors that strengthened their relationships with their children. These factors were conversations with children, expressions of parental love, encouraging faith, and present positive examples as parents for the child. First, topics of parents' conversations with their children varied: Korean drama or music, favorite food, children's school friends, academic subjects, and parents' difficulties. The way parents initiate conversation seemed to be a pivotal point for building a positive bond with their children. Parents did not force their children to respond but made children decide to share or listen.

Mothers' efforts to express their love to their children was another factor that helped mothers to create positive bonds with their children. Most mothers expressed that they could not

directly support their children's academic achievement due to their limited English and previous knowledge of a different curriculum than in the United States. They perceived tension between themselves and their children when their children received low grades. Thus, they tried to convey their love through words of encouragement but mainly through actions of love, such as cooking tasty meals, preparing snacks children liked, or asking children to go shopping with them to offer the children a break.

The other factor that helped parents to build a positive emotional bond with their children was encouraging faith. Four mothers claimed that they were Christians before coming to the United States. Two mothers started to attend Korean immigrant churches and one has attended American church since their immigrations. They described their religious commitments in different terms, but all of them reported some connections with a Korean immigrant church. For example, SunJung started attending a Korean immigrant church because she knew no one in the United States. Though SunJung was not a regular church attendant, she still contacted people in the Korean church when she needed some information or help.

Most mothers shared that having faith helped them manage their parental stress so that they employed better parental practices, which were less likely to be swayed by their emotions. As their faith helped them, mothers encouraged their children to have faith. They believed that in faith, the parent-child relationship could find common ground for the two to understand each other. JiEun provided her experience with how faith helped her and her relationship with her child: "I think raising Layla under God's words was a big help. When I was having a hard time, I would pray with her or try to teach her who God was. There was some connection between us with that."

The presented results within four domains—acculturation, perceived parental practices, the meanings of education, and intergenerational interaction with parents—are summarized in Appendix U.

Children's Data

I analyzed children's acculturation attitudes toward Korean culture and American culture, their perceived parental practices in supporting their academics, children's meaning associated with education, and their perceptions on intergenerational interactions with their parents. I describe children's demographic chracteristics in Table 8. Then I present the results within four domains: acculturation, children's perceived parental practices, the meaning of eduation for children, and intergenerational interaction with their parents.

Table 8

Demographic Summary of Children

Name	Gender	Grade	Age of Immigration (Length of Stay: year)	Korean Fluency	Legal Status	Mother
Grace	Girl	12th	7 (12)	Proficient	USA citizen	SunJung
BoMi	Girl	12th	4 (14)	Proficient	USA citizen	SoYoung
Joshua	Boy	10th	2 (13)	Mediate	Permanent resident	EunHee
Layla	Girl	8th	Born in US	Mediate	USA citizen	JiEun
Daniel	Boy	10th	Born in US	Basic	USA citizen	SunMi
JungChan	Boy	7th	10 (3)	Bilingual	Legal visitor	MinJung
SuA	Girl	11th	10 (8)	Bilingual	Permanent resident	InHyo

Domain 1: Acculturation. The domain of acculturation had six factors. Children shared their reasons for immigration and whether they had prepared for their immigration, emotions upon their arrival in the United States, strategies they used to adjust to the new society, challenges they experienced in the initial period of their adjustment, forms of discrimination they are currently struggling with, and resources that have been helpful in their adjustment since immigration.

Reason for immigration and preparation for immigration. The reasons for participants' immigration to the United States were summarized into three categories: parents' studies, parent's marriage to US citizen, and parents' decision to pursue a better life. Three children stated that their parents mentioned that they wanted to provide a better environment especially for their children's education. However, their understanding of their parents' reasons to immigrate to the United States was not deep. Their answers were very simple, and they were not able to describe their parents' previous lives in Korea. JungChan, 10 years old, was the only child who clearly stated that his parents decided to bring their children to the United States for the sake of their education. He stated that he came to the United States three years ago, and his mother started graduate school to come to the United States.

JungChan, who attended an English-speaking school in Kuwait before moving to the United States, did not struggle with language at school when he arrived. However, Grace, BoMi and SuA shared their difficulties upon arriving because they were not prepared for moving to the United States.

Emotions upon arrival in the United States. Layla and Daniel were born in the United States, and Joshua moved to the States when he was 2 years old. Other adolescents vividly described their emotions in the initial period of their lives in the United States: anxiety, fear, and

resistance. The ambivalent feeling of sadness from leaving their relatives and excitement for the new country was also expressed by these children. BoMi shared her emotions: "I didn't want to leave Korea at first because I loved my grandpa and grandma more than my dad and mom, but at the same time I was thinking, *This is cool to live in a new place*."

Strategy of adjustment. As children of immigrant parents, their strategies to adjust to the new country were different based on the phase of their immigrant, their family background, and their English proficiency. Learning English, accepting two cultures, and multitasking were stated in sharing their initial periods of adjustment.

Learn English. First, for those children who could not speak English at all, learning English was their parents' goal to help their children's adjustment. BoMi said her parents could not teach her English because they were not fluent English speakers. Instead, her parents made her watch kids' cartoons. She was able to list most of cartoons she watched in those days. Second, the children noted that they expressed their feelings and difficulties to their mothers. SuA said, "Looking back, just sharing my emotions with my mother helped me. My mother just listened to me but still sent me to school."

Accepting two cultures. As these children became comfortable with English, their sharing about difficulties living as children of immigrant parents did not differ from the experiences of other children who were born in United States or moved to the States as toddlers. All adolescents expressed their attitudes toward two different cultures. They said that they accepted two different cultures, and in turn, they understood their parents. For example, at school they lived in the American culture, and at home they lived in the Korean culture. Joshua's saying was very similar to what other children expressed:

> Actually, I am a Korean in the house, but outside of house, or with friends, I am an American. Because they are separated and different worlds to me. So, there is no

> conflict with my parents because of cultural differences. Also, there is no conflict with my friends because I am an American when I am with them.

Multitasking. As only children, Layla and Daniel rarely did house chores. However, other children expressed that their roles in their families were not limited to that of student. For example, though Grace was an only child, she needed to work, cook, and study because her mother's income was not enough for her to live with the mother. Grace said that her mother had not worked in South Korea. Other children also described their multiple roles at home due to their immigrant parents' long hours of work.

Challenges and emotions. Children explained several different challenges of living as Asian immigrants: language in the beginning of immigration, conversations in Korean, Asians' smart image, perceived image as a foreigner, and psychological issues.

Language: English and Korean. *Language: English and Korean*. At first, English was the issue for children who moved to the States. When these children discussed the emotions they felt during their beginning period of adjustment in the United States, they shared feelings of fear, anxiety, and shame. However, when all the children were fluent in English, some of them expressed their struggles or frustrations in adjusting to the Korean immigrant community due to their Korean language skills. The most common examples they gave included communication with parents or Korean immigrant adults:

> With parents, parents speak Korean. Their answers are in limited English and fluent Korean. But, I am fluent in English but limited in Korean. I can hold a daily conversation, but I don't know difficult Korean vocabularies. At church, I use English with other kids, but with adults, I need to use Korean most of time.

Being an Asian: smart image. All children, whether they described themselves as Korean American or Korean, stated that most Asians around them had good grades. It was a perception

from their own observations. But when I asked how they were doing at school, none of students described themselves as excellent students. Instead, they told me they were pretty good, decent, fine, or not bad. However, when I asked for their grades specifically, most of them said all A's or A's with one or two B's. Thus, I commented, "It seems like you have very good grades." Their responses were similar to the following: "In terms of a Korean American I am average. My grades are usually good, and I know—actually, a lot of people are below average, but I don't know that I can say my grades are really good." Among other Asians, SuA, who evaluated herself as doing well in middle school and now on average, expressed emotion: "I feel like I paid a lot of attention not to be worse than my friend. I'm in a circle of Korean people, and they do well for the most part. So, I feel like I'm really bad."

While SuA shared her feelings of pressure due to her perception of other Korean students in the United States, JungChan shared his stress due to other people's perceptions of Asians. He said that being Asians did not mean they were smart. JungChan's comments did not refer to only his school friends' perceptions of Asian students but also included teachers' higher expectations. He said, "I think teachers have higher expectations of me and other Asians in general. Last year I got an 80-something, and my teacher told me that she expected more from me." While they expressed their difficulties as Asian students, they revealed several negative feelings such as anxiety, frustration, depression, or inferiority. However, JungChan also stated that the stress he feels from people's perceptions of him does not always affect him negatively: "It rather helps me because it motivates me to get better grades."

Helpful resources. While they described the challenges they faced and psychological issues, the children also discussed resources that have been helpful in their adjustment in the

United States, other than their parents. Two different subfactors emerged: friends at school, and Korean organizations for the immigrant children.

Friends. Grace and SuA said they were indebted to their school friends for the academic help they received in the beginning of their immigrant lives. Their immigrant parents could not help with their homework, so they asked their friends to help them. In addition, none of the children except JungChan went to HakWon to get academic help. Thus, they discussed with their friends if they needed academic help, even if they had language problems.

Korean organizations. The other helpful resources were Korean organizations such as Korean immigrant churches, Korean associations for adolescents, or Korean schools. These organizations composed of Korean immigrants helped them to keep their Korean culture and protected them from identity confusion. All the girls and one boy stated that they shared their difficulties or struggles mainly with their mothers. However, in these organizations, these Korean immigrant adolescents shared their issues, learned Korean, and celebrated Korean holidays with their peers. These children stated that they were relieved or comforted by hearing other friends also went through similar difficulties as children of Korean immigrant parents.

Domain 2: Perceived parental practices. These Korean adolescents shared their perceptions of their parents' parenting practices, specially focused on parental supports for their education. In their answers about parental practices, three different aspects were portrayed: parental support, topic of conversation, and ethnic socialization.

Support. Most children stated that their parents were not able to help with their academics directly. Daniel was the only participant who mentioned his parents' help regarding critical thinking or his book list. Whether parents were able to help with children's academics or not, none of the children mentioned parents' direct teaching in any school subjects. However,

one of the most common examples of parental support the participants mentioned was related to food. These children stated that their mothers asked them whether they were hungry or not, and most of time they provided snacks when they studied. When mothers were not at home due to their long hours of work, mothers prepared food for them ahead of time.

Extra tutoring. JungChan was the only participant who had private tutors for English and instruments. Once a week on Saturday, he had different tutors visit his house from morning to the evening. Four out of seven students had experiences with the Korean learning center, HakWon. However, children went to the HakWon only for math, science, or test prep. For these children, attending the HakWon was a special activity during the Christmas break or summer vacation. They considered the HakWon was not a big part of their lives because their families were not rich and going to HakWon was a luxury

On the other hand, Grace and Daniel did not have any experience with the HakWon. Both of them believed getting good grades were not difficult and, if they needed academic help, they got help from Korean or school friends. Grace thought her mother would not be able to afford HakWon tuition. From the age of fifteen, she has been working various part-time jobs to help her mother's financial situation. She stated that it was not difficult to get good grades at school. Daniel said his parents also struggled with finances but that this was not the reason he did not attend HakWon. He believed he could have good academic outcomes without HakWon, which most of his Asian friends had experienced for their academic achievement. Daniel felt students could succeed without having to pay if they were studying.

Encouraging autonomy. All seven adolescents emphasized their parents' support for their desires or decisions in academic areas or school activities. However, the levels of autonomy allowed to them seemed different from parent to parent. JungChan was the only

adolescent who did not mention parents' financial struggles, and his academic tutoring subjects were determined by his mother. Layla also seemed to have limited in choosing extra activities. She mentioned that her parents tried to support all her needs because she was the only child. However, she also mentioned that all of her decisions should be approved by her father.

Except for Layla and JungChan, all of the adolescents stated that they knew more about the curriculum and extra activities at school than their parents. These adolescents strongly trusted their parents' love and commitment to their children and perceived that their parents would not oppose what they wanted to do. BoMi stated, "They say, 'Do whatever you like to do. It's your life. It's your decision. We will not make you do anything.' I appreciate it a lot."

Endeavoring to support me with everything. All the children perceived their parents' desire to support them if they wanted to learn something such as musical instruments, extra tutoring for a certain subject, or private sports lessons. Though children's financial backgrounds were different, all children believed their parents wanted to support them even if they found it hard to make a living. Grace was the only child who had experienced a financial crisis. She said she needed to work because her mother needed her help in paying the bills. However, she also described her mother's support: "She always supported me regardless. I knew that we don't have lots of money, but my mother did it."

Monitoring child's schedule. Though most of the children participants in the current study described that their parents could not speak English well, it seemed that the parents of these children developed their own ways to support their children's academic achievement through monitoring children's schedules. Some common questions these children heard from their parents were about what they did at school, what they ate, whether they finished homework or not, and what time they went to bed. Like other children, Joshua said, "They just monitor.

They don't force me. I like that they are not stereotypically strict. They never force me or pressure me; they just ask if I did my homework. That's it."

Emphasizing hard work. As a parental practice to facilitate children's academic achievement, children declared that their parents exceedingly emphasized the importance of hard work. Only JungChan said that both grades and hard work were important to his parents as well as himself. Hard working was not only for parents' attitudes but also for children's attitudes toward success or failure. Layla's concept of hard work, which was influenced by her parents, was very similar to other children's reports. She said,

> I know I can do better than what I am doing now if I were doing my best. My parents always told me that if I tried my best and still failed that's okay because I tried my best. My mother says, 'Even if I don't have potential in it, if I try my best I still give it my all.' Now, it's kinda been my motto, to try my best with everything.

Conversation. When children reported their conversations with their parents, four main subfactors emerged: academics, college and future career, discrimination, and spirituality. Conversations related to ethnic socialization were a large part of the discussion. Because several subfactors emerged related to ethnic socialization, I separated it as one factor. Parent-child conversations in Korean immigrant families seemed to start mutually, instead of either parents or children starting their conversations. Upon children's arriving at home, parents asked children whether they were hungry, and then children or parents initiated conversations on children's days at school. In addition, conversations around the dinner table [or lunch] were another chance for parents and children to share their daily lives. If children could not have meals with their parents during the week days, due to parents' long hours of work, those family had at least one big meal together on the weekend and held longer conversations among family members.

Academics/college/future career. JungChan and Joshua seemed to have limited conversations with their parents. However, they still described their relationships with their

parents as good. JungChan's daily conversations with his mother were largely about academics and tutoring. Other children also held conversations with their parents over academics. However, it did not seem to be stressful for children to talk about their days in school. Rather, children seemed to talk to their parents about their days as a daily habit. In addition to children's conversations about their daily lives at school or homework, children also held conversations about future careers. On this topic, parents and children discussed a relationship between potential college majors and possible job opportunities. It seems that parents emphasized the importance of selecting college majors that would be applicable to stable jobs.

Discrimination. The children shared about other people's or their own perceptions of Asian students, and some expressed feeling pressured to excel in academic achievements. However, the topic of discrimination regarding being an Asian in the United States was discussed in less than half of participants' families. Only Grace, Daniel, and Layla discussed with their parents about potential discrimination they might face in the future. Their parents reminded them that their Korean ethnicity and their status as a part of minority group are potential barriers for them in the future. However, they did not seem to believe they would experience difficulties in the future due to their race or ethnicity. Other children exhibited a similar attitude. JungChan and SuA did not even think of the issue of discrimination from the perspective that it would affect their lives. JungChan believes that if he encounters some challenges in the future, such as not being promoted to a higher position, he will think it is because of his abilities instead of his ethnicity. Thus, there was no difference in children's attitudes regarding discrimination whether children's parents discussed it or not.

BoMi was the only adolescent who perceived the existence of barriers. Her perception of challenges she might confront as an Asian immigrant was developed from her observations. She shared her understanding of lay American's perceptions on the Asian's image:

> When I was interested in performance, I was always thinking all the Asians who come out are usually side figures. Let's say about Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, and you imagine a white person as Juliet. Lay people imagine things. The way people see, that's a barrier.

Ethnic socialization. Children in the current study repeatedly stated that their parents reminded them of their heritage, culture, and identity as Koreans. Children were exposed to Korean culture and language on a daily basis. Children reported that their parents emphasized their Korean identity and taught Korean manners. Most of all, when they discussed the Korean culture as practiced at home, Korean food was always mentioned as a symbol of Korean identity.

Emphasis on Korean identity. There were different types of parental practices that familiarized children with their identity as Korean or Korean American. Four children reported that their parents had overtly told them they should remember their identities as Koreans. Some children reported that their parents did not emphasize a Korean identity or Korean culture but expressed their displeasure at seeing too many Americanized Koreans. For example, JungChan, SuA, and Grace reported that their parents do not like kids who think they are American when their parents are Korean and their whole family is Korean.

However, the other four children reported that they were familiar with parents' practices for children to be aware of their Korean heritage. These children stated how they were familiar with the Korean culture and perceived the importance of holding onto their Korean identity: parents' sharing of their childhoods in Korea, sending them to a Korean school to keep up on their Korean, taking them to Korea to maintain their connections, or sending them to special programs that focused on teaching about Korean heritage. In addition, parents' emphasis on

maintaining Korean proficiency was important for their children to keep their Korean identity strong. BoMi, Grace, and Layla stated that their parents told them to stay fluent in Korean as a mark of being Korean. Most children shared that they were exposed to Korean media every day because their parents watched Korean dramas and news.

Teach Korean manners. All children reported that their parents fervently emphasized the importance of maintaining Korean manners and taught them those manners. Showing respect for elders with a polite bow was the first example all children cited, and not talking back to older people or teachers was the next one. The other common examples of Korean manners taught by their parents were being humble with other people and not expressing negativity when things were offered to them. Two children shared their experiences when they did not eat food that was offered to them. One said his parents scolded him, saying, "Among Korean people, even if you don't like, just take them."

Feed Korean food. Korean food was the main meal in all families. Unless they do not have time, these children started the day with a Korean breakfast—rice with side dishes. No children complained about Korean food but enjoyed it.

Sending the child to a Korean community. Except for JungChan, all students attended Korean schools located in their cities, though the durations of their attendance varied. However, most of them attended Korean school once a week from prekindergarten through at least fourth grade. Joshua and Layla have volunteered for little kids at Korean school from their seventh grades. These adolescents stated that their parents wanted them to attend Korean school. However, as they moved to the higher grades, they felt stressed about doing Korean homework, which required an extra two to seven hours every week. Thus, in most cases, they shared their stress, sometimes fought with their parents, and finally around fourth to sixth grade, they stopped

going to Korean school. Beyond Korean school, parents also encouraged their children to participate in church activities for the youth or Korean organizations for adolescents.

Domain 3. The meaning of education. Regarding children's beliefs about education, there were two different approaches to education—one as academic education and the other as moral education. To some children, education was related to moral education, helping the child to become a better person. This approach was related to parents' religion or Korean traditional values on human beings' behavior and mental attitudes. On the other hand, some presented their beliefs about education with an academic perspective. However, regarding their educational goals and parental practices, children mainly talked about the academic meaning of education during the interviews. In this domain, four factors were discussed: children's goals for their education, the benefit of education, principal agents for children's education, and children's feelings about failing in education.

Goals and benefits of education. All children except Grace wanted to finish a four-year college at the minimum in pursuing their education. Grace desired to go to an art institution for her college education, but due to the financial struggles her mother has, she was considering applying to a two- year cosmetic institute. Four children stated that they aimed to earn scholarships, knowing the college tuition would be expensive. These four students understood their parents "financial difficulties," so they hoped to share their parents' financial burdens.

In addition, when I asked about specific goals in terms of education and why those goals were important to them, children described the benefit of education as well. Participants described the goals and benefits of education, such as preparation for a future job or stable life, becoming a better person, and emotional satisfaction. Three children limited their goals of education in terms of academics. However, other students stated their goals of education as

being in line with their parents' emphasis, such as learning proper manners as Koreans or building character.

Pave the way for future. Children's goals for their education were connected to the benefits of education. It was important for children to be self-sufficient beings whether they were male or female. In other words, education was important for children to get good jobs so they would be able to support themselves and their parents. A comfortable and stable life, emotional satisfaction, and parents' satisfaction were discussed as the benefits of education. SuA also stated: "Education is to get practical knowledge, If I go to university, I will be paid more over time."

Becoming a better person. Four children mentioned that their parents talked about their Christian faith with them to help them think about how to live meaningfully. Thus, these children held similar perceptions on the meaning of education. Sometimes, faith was a reason that parents asked their children to study harder or to volunteer. Due to parents' spirituality, these children were instructed to become better people as instructed in their religious beliefs. Joshua thought that his parents tried to teach him mostly about becoming a better person who can serve other people. Therefore, his parents actually emphasized his serving at Korean church, Korean school, or friends at school.

If it was not about parents' beliefs, most children heard from their parents the importance of having righteous behavior and mindful attitudes. Accordingly, these students described the meaning of education as the process of becoming better people. JungChan often heard from his parents that he needed to live like a decent human being, which meant "live with the virtues of a good human being." SuA also said, "My dad always tells me that it's important to be a good person before anything else, no matter how good you are at school. Same with my mother."

Other children's parents gave similarly messages as mentioned in the children's answers describing their parents' goals in educating their children.

Emotional satisfaction. When children talked about the benefits of education, they reported various negative emotions such as fear, depression, self-criticism, and a feeling of worthlessness. These emotions were related to the possibility of children not getting a good education. Children in the current study were aware of the image that Asians are smart. It was not only other people's perspective, but the children themselves also perceived the stereotype that Asian students study well. Therefore, these children unsurprisingly compare themselves to other Korean students or Asian students. SuA presented an example of how low levels of education could affect her emotions. She expressed that people who are not well educated seem to be ignored by other people.

Principal agent for children's education. In talking about their perceptions of their parents' practices in supporting their academic development, the children identified three driving forces in parents' guidance for their education. Children reported that their preferences or interests were the most important factors for them and their parents when parents supported children's education. For example, children participated in extra activities based on their interests. Although these children perceived that their own interests were important to parents in facilitating their children's education, from time to time, parents also advised the children on the areas to study. Grace, BoMi, and Daniel experienced their parents' dislike of what they wanted to pursue in the future. However, their parents researched information for them and gave them advice on what to study as preparation for the future. In these cases, parents' ideas or desires guided their children in what to study.

The other aspect that motivated children was comparison with Korean immigrant adolescents or other Asians such as Chinese or Philippinos. The Korean immigrant adolescents in the study commented that they were not great academic achievers when compared to other Koreans or Asians. Layla said, "I don't want to be compared by other friends, but I don't want to be below the other smart Asians either."

Results of failing. When discussing the benefits of education, the children had already alluded to the results of failing to get good degrees or grades. However, I further investigated to find specific results these children thought they might encounter: shame on themselves, self-blame, and shame on parents.

Shame. Most of the participants had good grades overall. However, this did not mean that they did not worry about the possibility of getting bad grades. BoMi and SuA shared that they felt shame when they got grades that were lower than their usual ones. JungChan also stated that he felt ashamed at those times. It was not a fear of anything, but they felt shame that they could not attained the goal expected for them to achieve by other people.

Self-blame. Following the feeling of shame, as JungChan's case presented, some kids blamed themselves. It was because no one could study for them, but only they could put in the effort for better grades. JungChan, BoMi, SuA, and Layla blamed themselves for their results. In addition, children also stated that their parents or church members expressed anger at them for the bad grades. Layla especially believed that her father and other Asian parents of her friends would get angry for her low grade.

Shame on parents. BoMi shared that her grandparents in South Korea have supported her family financially since her family's immigration, and they have expectations about her academic achievement. She did not think she would be able to go to one of the prestigious

universities they hoped for. However, she would maintain her current academic level so she could go to a decent university from Koreans' perspective. In doing so, she could save her parents' pride before her grandparents, and her grandparents would not feel shame with other Koreans. Daniel also worried about shame on his parents if he did not perform well:

> In terms of the Korean community, which for me would be my church people, parents, and family in Korea, the reactions would generally be the same. They'd be angry, but mostly disappointed. Most of all, my parents would feel shame if people in the Korean community were disappointed in me.

Domain 4. Intergenerational interaction. In investigating the process of parental practices to support children's education, I discovered the fourth domain, intergenerational parent-child interaction. Four factors were discovered regarding children's beliefs and perceptions of parent-child relationship: children's identity beliefs, attitude toward Korean and American cultures, perceived causes of conflict with their immigrant parents, and means through the children perceived parental warmth.

Identity belief. All children described themselves as Korean Americans except JungChan. JungChan spent only his first five years in South Korean and then grew up in Kuwait. He has been in the United States for three years. He said he always considered him Korean regardless of where he lived. He said, "Because my ethnicity is Korean and I love Koreans so I think I will be Korean for the rest of my life. Even when I changed my citizenship, I still wanted to be Korean." Grace described herself as a Korean American but sometimes thinks she is more Korean. It was not only because she really enjoyed Korean foods, dramas, and movies but also because she was surprised from time to time at the differences between her and her American friends.

Korean American. Most of the children stated that they were Korean Americans. These children embraced their Korean heritage and accepted that they could be not only American or

Korean but both—Korean American. BoMi's comments represented other children's perspective. She said that she was not one of the Korean American students who shun their Korean heritage. In considering his Korean American identity, Daniel also believes that abandoning one half of himself is not good. He believes it is good to have some aspects of his heritage and practice it once in a while, especially in an environment where individualism is important. Grace extended her explanation of Korean identity from an individual level to extended family levels. BoMi explained why: "I think it's important to not forget where you are from, where your family comes from. Even if you don't feel like you are actually from it because you are born in America, it's in your family."

Perception of South Korea. As most of the children identified themselves as Korean American, I asked further questions about their perceptions on South Korea. All of them had visited Korea. BoMi visited South Korea once a year on average, but all the other children had visited once or twice since their parents' immigration to the United States. Children reported that Korea was a fun place to visit and that people in Korea treated them very special because they were from the United States. Not only the adults but also their peers in Korea treated them friendly. JungChan said, "They call me 'foreign friend' in Korean. I told them, 'I am a Korean like you,' but they still called me 'foreign friend' and treated me very nice, special."

Children's personal experiences in Korea resulted in joyful and positive emotions. However, children's perceptions of the Korean image were not in the line with their positive experiences in Korea. These children stated that students in Korea were under academic stress and that adults in Korea were under heavy workloads. They perceived that, in Korea, students were pushed to general standards to aim high, rather than to a specific standard for each

individual in the United States. Overall, due to their perceptions on academics in South Korea, these children did not want to live in South Korea but only wanted to visit.

Attitude toward two cultures. Through the children's view of their identities as Korean Americans and their personal experiences at home in the United States and in South Korea, I captured children's attitudes toward the two different cultures. Though children had attitudes to embrace both Korean and American cultures, they also experienced parent-child conflicts.

Accepting two different cultures. Children accepted both the Korean and American cultures as they accepted their dual identities as Korean and American. Children believed it was natural for them to accept two different cultures as the offspring of immigrants. In fact, three children stated that they wanted to keep their two different cultures. For example, Grace said that she wanted to remember her Korean and stay connected to the Korean culture so that she could continuously communicate with her mother without any limits and continue her relationships with all of her blood relatives in Korea. In Layla's case, as a form of respect for both the American and Korean cultures, she wanted to adapt to both.

Appreciate the benefits of being bicultural. There was a variation in children's Korean proficiency. However, all these children stated the benefits of having a bicultural background. First, as a practical reason, children stated the benefits of speaking both Korean and English. Joshua said, "In the future, people will appreciate bilingual people. Obviously, it only does good for you." The other benefit from keeping a bicultural background would be uniqueness. Daniel said, "I thought being a Korean American brought me uniqueness into myself because it's different from being just Korean or just American. The ability to hone the cultural factors of both Korea and America is unique."

Appreciate being an Asian. Though children recognized the psychological burden of the image as high academic achievers, they also shared advantages of Asians' image. They perceived that lay Americans seemed to know Asians' good reputation with beauty, science, or math. In addition, Asians were not considered to be prone to violence or stealing. For example, BoMi mentioned lay American's perceptions of image of Asian:

> Job wise, I think it can be a benefit because people have a certain image of certain groups, honestly—depending on what you are going into. Asian people usually do not have any bad impression, you know? They don't give Asian people suspicious looks and don't feel threatened. Usually, 'Oh, she is an Asian. She is smart,' It's sad but I think it's true.

Conflict: causes. In talking about their attitudes toward Korean and American cultures under their parents' support for their achievement, children reported conflicts they experienced with their parents and their perceptions of parental practices. Though they generally sought to accept their two different cultural backgrounds and to understand their parents' perspective, they could not completely avoid conflict with their parents. Causes of parent-child conflicts were summarized in two main aspects: different beliefs about children's autonomy and hierarchical relationships.

Children perceived that parents' different beliefs were related to Korean traditions. The concepts of children's independence and hierarchical arrangements in human relationships were brought up. BoMi and Joshua said that their parents did not allow them to work, advising them, "It's not a good investment. Just study hard and get a scholarship." Both knew that in Korea, parents do not allow their children to work because of academics, and children receive financial and emotional support even after their marriage. However, she thought parents should accept they do not live in Korea but in the United States.

Children also reported that they had difficulty simply accepting the hierarchal concepts their parents held. However, they said that because they did not want to cause any conflict with their parents in keeping the Korean values, they tried to do what their parents asked them to do even when they did not agree.

Different approaches to conflict. To avoid causing conflict with their parents, children had different approaches. BoMi stated that she just followed what her parents wanted her to do in her daily life. Other children reported that they approached conflict with silence. When these children had conflicts with their parents, they said it was easier for them to talk to their mothers than their fathers, but if it was about an issue that could cause conflict with both of their parents, they would rather stay quiet to avoid conflicts. They thought that if there were different opinions between their parents and themselves, talking to them did nothing except causing conflict. BoMi said, "I don't like talking about it because if we talk, it always … leaves a bad taste." In addition, JungChan also described his mother's reactions when he had a conflict with her. He said that his mother asked him not to make her angry when they had different opinions.

Factors for positive parent-child bonding. Though children reported parent-child conflicts due to their difference, they also mentioned several factors that helped their relationships with their parents: food prepared by parents, parents' discipline their shortcomings, and parents' knowledge about them. Through these factors, children reported that they perceived parental love.

Food prepared. Children often mentioned food in relation to maternal or paternal love. They said their mothers or fathers prepared food for them or asked them what they wanted to eat in supporting their academics or daily lives. For them, eating food prepared by parents or eating

with their parents was a way to strengthen their perceptions of parental love and support. BoMi explained how she felt parental love through food, saying,

> When I wake up in the morning or come back from school, there is sometimes warm rice in the rice cooker with a stew or soup on the stove for us to eat. They provide us with fuel for ourselves and make me feel loved. If you didn't care about the person then you wouldn't be spending your precious time making fresh and warm food for them.

Discipline child's shortcomings. The other way children perceived parental love was through parents' scolding them for their shortcomings. Children believed that parents' continuous intervention and discipline are signs of parental love for them. Joshua said,

> When they tell me of what will be the best for me, even when I may not enjoy listening all the time, I know they are telling me they care and love me. They wouldn't be telling me anything or making me do anything if they didn't care or love me.

Knowledge about the child. Three children also stated that they could feel their parents' love for them because parents knew them very well. Knowing children includes parents' knowledge of children's interests for the future careers, sensitivity to children's emotions and needs, and providing children with what they need. In other words, children stated that their parents' knowledge of their children supported them not only for their emotional needs but also for practical help.

The presented results within four domains—acculturation, perceived parental practices, the meanings of education, and intergenerational interaction with parents—are summarized in Appendix U.

Summary

In the analysis of mothers' and children's interviews about parent-child interactions in parents' academic socialization for their children, four domains emerged from the data. The domains from mothers' interviews were: a) the acculturation process and its effects on parents; b) different types of parental practices; c) meanings of education for immigrant mothers; and d) parent-child intergenerational interactions. The domains from children's interview were: a) acculturation process and its effects on children; b) children's perceived parental practices in supporting their education; c) children's meaning of education; and d) perceived parental interaction with them.

Mothers' perceptions on education were influenced by their acculturation experiences, which in turn affected their parental practices, especially focused on preventing their children from encountering financial struggles. In addition, mothers encouraged their children to stay connected to their Korean heritage as well as recognize their children's current cultural background. With limited English proficiency, parents' strategies to support their children's achievement were developed based on their Korean cultural background, such as emphasizing the hard work or providing emotional comfort through food. Korean school on weekend was one of the main forms of support that mothers offered to help their children to keep their Korean heritage, while Korean immigrant churches were agents for mothers to seek psychological help and information for adjustment.

On the other hand, the children interviewed had spent most of their lives in the United States. They expressed psychological stress but also benefits from the perception that Asians are smart. Korean immigrant children's meanings of education were more influenced by their parents' meanings of education than by their own perceived meaning of education formed in the

United States. These children, calling themselves Korean American, used Korean most at home in their communications with their parents. Knowing their parents' status as immigrants in the United States, they perceived their parents' support for their education through the lens of the Korean culture. Thus, they perceived parents' discipline for their shortcomings, parents' long work hours, and food preparation for them as expressions of parental love. However, children still expressed difficulties with parents' emphasis on hierarchical human relationships.

Further Investigation: Serial Mediation

In the moderated mediation model for the current study, I tested the conditional nature of parental warmth and child's acculturation attitude in the path from mother's acculturation to child's academic and psychological outcomes via mother's academic socialization. Although there were significant direct relationships and strong correlations among variables of interest, the hypothesized moderated mediation model was not significantly supported in the previous analyses.

However, the qualitative part of the analysis produced a rich description of the relationships among mother's attitude toward Korean or American culture, child's perceptions of parental warmth, child's attitude toward Korean or American culture, and child's psychological and academic outcomes. The most interesting findings from the qualitative analysis involved the way children perceived maternal warmth and their psychological reactions toward their mothers' academic socialization. Korean immigrant children in the qualitative part of the study did not seem to psychologically suffer from their mothers' emphasis on hard work in supporting the children's academic achievement. Rather, children perceived their mothers' emphasis on hard work as a sign of parental love for them.

Therefore, I revisited the correlation matrix from the quantitative part of the study, and the themes that emerged in the qualitative part, to reconstruct a hypothesis about the direct and indirect effects of mother's acculturation on the child's psychological adjustment. The correlation matrix suggested that higher mother's orientation toward Korean culture was associated with higher emotional autonomy support, emphasis on hard work, and competitiveness in mother's academic socialization. However, only higher emphasis on hard work in mother's academic socialization was associated with maternal warmth; and high

perceived maternal warmth was associated with child's lower psychological adjustment issues. Furthermore, one of the emerging themes found in children's interviews was Korean immigrant children's unique perceptions of mothers' academic socialization and their warmth: the children perceived mothers' discipline and their continuous intervening actions as expressions of maternal love.

To take a more integrated approach with the results from the quantities and qualitative methods, I hypothesized that a different model using the same variables would yield significant results. Thus, instead of investigating the conditional nature of the mechanism (moderated mediation), I expected that mothers' acculturation effects would be transmitted to children's academic and psychological outcomes through multiple mechanisms (i.e., serial mediators of mother's emphasis on hard work and maternal warmth) simultaneously.

Thus, instead of keeping maternal warmth as a moderator between mother's academic socialization and child's psychological adjustment, I examined whether perceived maternal warmth, as the second mediator, significantly increased the effect of mother's attitude toward Korean culture on child's psychological adjustment. The overall serial mediation model included mother's attitude toward Korean culture as the predictor, mother's academic socialization as the first mediator, maternal warmth as the second mediator, and child's psychological adjustment as the outcome variable. The conceptual model is represented in Figure 6.

I followed Hayes's (2013) PROCESS model 6 for SPSS with 10,000 bootstrap samples and a 95 % confidence interval. I assigned mother's acculturation as the predictor, mother's academic socialization of emphasis on hard work as the first mediator, maternal warmth as the second mediator, and child's psychological adjustment as the outcome variable. As additional

options, I selected the mean center for products, heteroscedasticity-consistent SEs, OLS confidence intervals, effect size, total effect model, and comparable indirect effects.

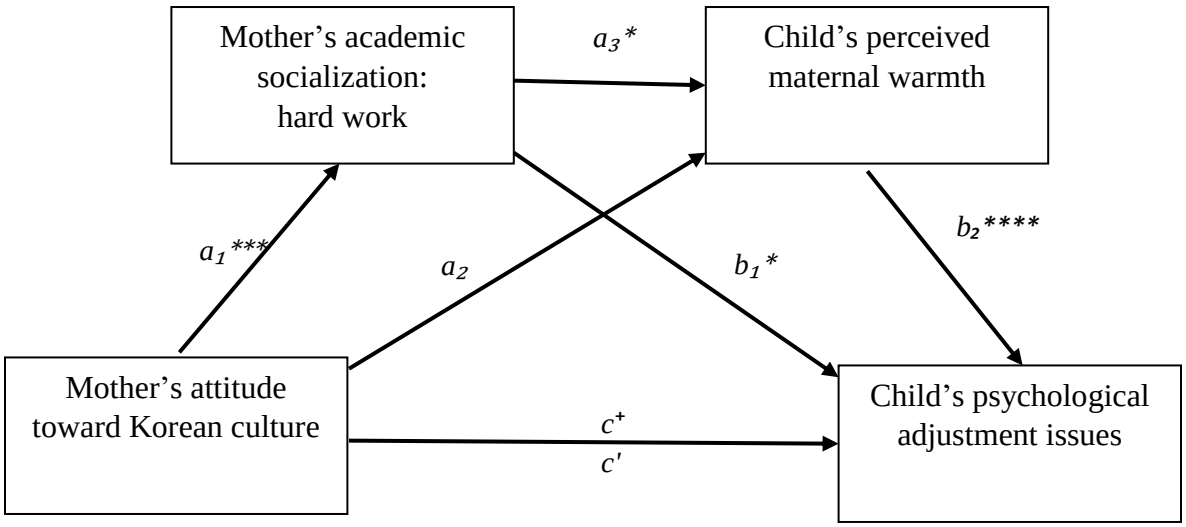


Figure 6. Serial multiple mediation model: Conceptual Model as Tested.
$^+$ $p < 0.1$; *$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; ***p<.001; ****p<.0001

The overall serial mediation model was significant (R^2 = .197, p < .001), and the PROCESS results are represented in Figure 7.

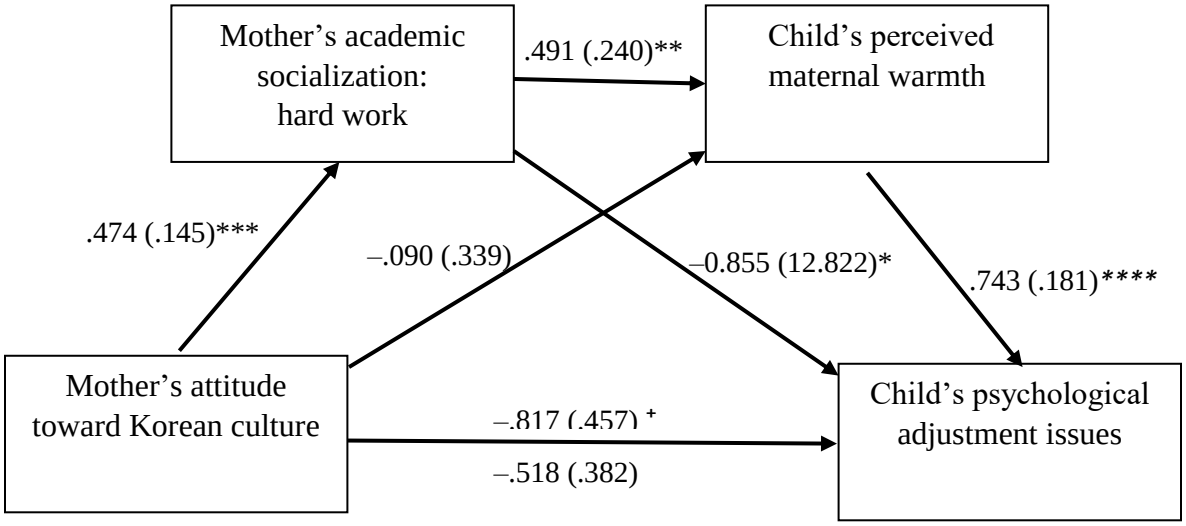


Figure 7. Serial multiple mediation model coefficients.
Notes: $^+$ p < 0.1; *p < .05; ** p < .01; ***p < .001; ****p < .0001; All paths are reported in beta (SE).

Figure 7 presents the path coefficients from the bootstrapped regression and mediation analyses for the effects of mother's attitude toward Korean culture on child's psychological adjustment issues through a sequential path of mother's hard work emphasis followed by maternal warmth. The model summary for this serial mediation is presented in Table 9. The overall regression model examining the relationship between mother's attitude toward Korean culture and child's psychological adjustment was statistically significant (R^2 = .197, F[100] = 6.779, p < 0.001). Specifically, mother's attitude toward Korean culture significantly predicted mother's emphasis on hard work (B = 0.474, SE = 0.145, p < 0.001), mother's emphasis on hard work significantly predicted maternal warmth (B = 0.491, SE = 0.240, p < 0.05), and maternal

warmth significantly predicted child's psychological adjustment issues (B = 0.743, SE = 0.181, p < 0.001). The direct effect of mother's attitude toward Korean culture on child's psychological adjustment issues was not statistically significant (B = -0.518, SE = 0.382, p = 0.178).

Table 9

Regression Coefficients, Standard Errors, and Model Summary for the Serial Multiple Mediator Model

	Consequent								
	M_1 (M_Hard)			M_2 (C_MWarm)			Y (C_PAQ)		
Antecedent	Coeff.	SE	*p*	Coeff.	SE	*p*	Coeff.	SE	*p*
M_BAS_Her	0.474	0.145	<0.001	-0.090	0.339	0.791	-0.520	0.382	.178
M_Hard	—	—	—	0.491	0.240	<0.01	-0.855	0.358	<0.05
C_MWarm	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.743	0.181	< 0.0001
Constant	15.258		<0.0001	22.935	6.851	<0.001	101.013	12.822	<0.0001
	R^2 = 0.122			R^2 = 0.058			R^2 = 0.1969		
	F(1, 102) = 10.783, *p* < 0.001			F(2, 101) = 2.622, *p* = 0.078			F(3, 100) = 6.779, *p* < 0.001		

Notes. *N*=104. M_BAS_Her. = bicultural attitude scale for mother toward the heritage culture. M_Hard. = parents' academic socialization of demanding hard work. C_MWarm. = child's perceived acceptance-rejection questionnaire for maternal warmth. C_PAQ = the child version of personality assessment questionnaire for psychological adjustment.

In addition to the model summary in Table 9, the indirect effects are presented in Table 10. The indirect effect of mother's emphasis on hard work between mother's attitude toward Korean culture was statistically significant (*B* = -0.406, *SE* = 0.202, bootstrapped 95% CI = -0.845, -0.065). This means that higher levels of mother's attitude toward Korean culture significantly increase mother's emphasis on hard work, which in turn decrease child's psychological adjustment issues. However, the indirect effect of perceived warmth was not statistically significant (*B* = -0.067, *SE* = 0.242, bootstrapped 95% CI = -0.526, 0.464).

Importantly, in this model, the sequential indirect effects of mother's emphasis on hard work and maternal warmth on the relationship between mother's attitude toward Korean culture and child's psychological adjustment issues were statistically significant (*B* = 0.173, *SE* = 0.094, bootstrapped 95% CI = 0.012, 0.374), indicating that mother's attitude toward Korean culture was positively related to mother's emphasis on hard work, hard work emphasized by mothers was negatively related to maternal warmth [higher score means less perceived parental love], and maternal warmth was positively related to child's psychological adjustment issues.

Given a significant indirect effect but no significant direct effect, this model indicates that the relationship between mother's attitude toward Korean culture and child's psychological adjustment issues is fully mediated by mother's emphasis on hard work and maternal warmth.

Table 10

Indirect effects of Korean immigrant mothers' attitudes toward the Korean culture on children's psychological adjustment issues

	Effect	SE	95% LLCI	95% ULCI
Total indirect effects	-.299	.251	-.804	.203
$a_1 b_1$ *(M_BAS_Her.→M_Hard→C_PAQ)*	**-.406**	**.203**	**-.845**	**-.065**
$a_1 a_3 b_2$ *(* M_BAS_Her. →*M_Hard→C_MWarm→C_PAQ)*	**.173**	**.094**	**.012**	**.374**
$a_2 b_2$ *(*M_BAS_Her. →*C_MWarm→C_PAQ)*	-.067	.242	-.526	.464
(C1) $a_1 b_1$ *minus* $a_1 a_3 b_2$	**-.579**	**.245**	**-1.102**	**-.149**
(C2) $a_1 b_1$ *minus* $a_2 b_2$	-.338	.346	-1.075	.271
(C3) $a_2 b_2$ *minus* $a_2 b_2$	.240	.286	-.390	.783

Notes. *N*=104. M_BAS_Her. = bicultural attitude scale for mother toward the heritage culture. M_Hard. = parents' academic socialization of demanding hard work. C_MWarm. = child's perceived acceptance-rejection questionnaire for maternal warmth. C_PAQ = the child version of personality assessment questionnaire for psychological adjustment.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

In this study, I examined the role of perceived parental warmth and child's acculturation attitude in relation to the effect of mother's acculturation attitude on the child's acadecmic and psychological outcomes through mother's academic socialization. I used a mixed methods approach, allowing us to gain a more dynamic and multidimensional understanding of the effects of parents' acculturation on children's academic and psychological outcomes through parental academic socialization and children's perceived parental warmth. The qualitative part of the study elicited a rich description of the parent-child interaction in Korean immigrant families and parental practices in facilitating children's education. The qualitative part also provided vivid reports about the intergenerational interactions and children's beliefs regarding their idenities, which in turn shaped children's unique perceptions in understanding their parents' supports for education.

In the moderated mediation model, there was no significant conditional effect of parental warmth or child's acculturation attitude in the path from mother's accultration to the child's academic and psychological outcomes via mother's academic socialization. However, in a serial mediation model, which investigated simultaneous mechanisms rather than the conditional nature of the mechanism, significant indirect effects were found. The serial mediation model included mother's attitude toward Korean culture as the predictor, mother's academic socialization as the first mediator, maternal warmth as the second mediator, and child's psychological adjustment as the outcome variable.

Acculturation and Intergenerational Interactions

Previous studies have steadily reported a relation between parents' acculturation and their children's academic achievement. Parents' levels of acculturation and parents' support for

children's academic attainment influence children's academic and psychological outcomes (Eng, et al., 2007; Kim & Cain, 2008; Kim & Rohner, 2002; Lee & Larson, 2000). However, the ways in which parental acculturation affect the children's academic and psychological consequences in the processes of parents' academic socialization for their children has not been clearly answered. In addition, simply measuring immigrants' acculturation orientation toward only one culture, such as the host culture or heritage culture, might not bring us the full picture of the effect of acculturation on immigrants' lives. Moreover, Berry (2005) identified the variability among groups and individuals, and even within families, as a feature of acculturation. This study provided evidence of how this variability in acculturation attitudes toward both heritage and host cultures were presented in Korean immigrant families' academic socialization, its effects on the children's outcomes influenced by their parents, and children's perceptions of parental supports.

Regarding Korean immigrant family members' acculturation, in the current study, mothers and children reported their orientation toward American culture and their orientation toward Korean cultures. Results indicated that mothers tend to have a greater orientation toward their heritage (Korean) culture than their host (American) culture, and children tend to have a greater orientation toward their host (American) culture than their heritage culture (Korean). In addition, children's American cultural orientation was higher than mothers' American cultural orientation, but there was no difference in mothers' orientation and children's orientation toward Korean culture.

This result is consistent with those of previous studies, which report that immigrant children are likely to acculturate to the host culture faster than their immigrant parents (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009; Portes, 1997). The cultures of Korea and the United States are not similar in terms of history, social culture, language, and ethical standards. Thus, it is not surprising that

Korean immigrant parents' level of American cultural orientation was lower than their children's. Korean immigrant mothers in the current study had moved to the United States for the common reasons of pursuing their education, working, or having a better life. However, most of mothers expressed that they had not prepared themselves for life in the United States, especially in terms of speaking English. The parents' education and training in South Korea had not protected them from unstable financial situations unless they had full support from their family members in South Korea. They worked extremely hard in jobs they had not imagined for themselves and suffered from the loss of social networks such as family members and friends.

Consequently, mothers experienced various challenges as immigrants and the family interactions were different from the traditional concepts of parent-child relationship. Their low orientation toward American culture led to stressors such as social isolation, employment difficulties, and financial issues, which in turn affected them physically and psychologically. Specifically, mothers in the present study strongly expressed the feeling of helplessness related to their limited language proficiency, their changed social status in the United States, or a lack of information on immigrant life. For example, mothers felt helpless when they could not take the lead as adults and had to use their children as language brokers. As a result, Korean immigrant mothers' children play a crucial role in their adjustment in the United States.

The results confirmed other previous studies about immigrant children as language or cultural brokers (Chao, 2006; Tse, 1995). Children of immigrants, who tend to become fluent in the host society's language faster than their parents and use their language skills to translate, interpret, and mediate between their family and English speakers, are known as language brokers (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Morales & Hanson, 2005). Korean immigrant children also acculturated quicker and reported stronger attitudes toward American culture than their mothers,

and mothers in the current study reported their children's roles of cultural and language brokering. In addition, mothers reported that due to children's faster adaptation to American culture, their roles in supporting children's education were more likely supporting children's decisions, rather than directing and managing children's education as they had in South Korea. Accordingly, because of the difference in the levels of parents' and children's adjustments in the host country, the family dynamics have changed. These changes in Korean immigrant families are consistent with previous research about family members' roles in immigrant families (Chao, 2006; Martinez et al., 2009; Suarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006).

In addition, the findings regarding Korean mothers' emotional distress as immigrants were consistent with previous studies (Bernstein et al., 2011; Park & Bernstein, 2012; Mui & Kang, 2006). Korean immigrant mothers in the current study clearly presented immigrant mothers' current and potential psychological issues such as guilt, sadness, stress, loneliness, anxiety, depression, and feelings of alienation. These emotions were caused in the process of acculturation, such as when experiencing discrimination, disconnected relationships with families or friends in South Korea, new roles in their own families and the society, or downward social mobility in a new country. The results indicate the need to provide culturally appropriate mental health services to Korean immigrant parents who have lower American cultural orientation than their children.

Children of Korean immigrants also reported their acculturation experiences in the current study. Korean immigrant adolescents in the study did not have deep knowledge about the reasons for their parents' immigration and could not describe their parents' lives in Korea. However, all of these children acknowledged their parents' hardships since their immigrations and felt a burden to share their parents' difficulties. They also reported challenges that they had

experienced as children of immigrants, such as language issues, pressure related to Asians' "smart" image, and emotional distress. Previous studies discussed the predominant images of Asian American adolescents as successful, hardworking, and high academic achievers (Lee, 1995; Takagi, 1992). Adolescents in the current study also reported these perceptions as exhibited by their teachers and friends. They recognized the idealized academic achievement standards others had for them and felt pressured to attain or maintain a high level of academic achievement due to those expectations as other research reported (Choi & Dancy, 2009; Shrake, 1998). According to Lee (1996), Asians' model minority image could be viewed as a positive stereotype, but it could set an unachievable goal for Asian American adolescents, and these students may struggle to fulfill the expectations of their parents, friends, or teachers. On the other hand, these adolescents in the current study are also aware of the image that Asians are smart. It was not only other people's perspectives, but the children themselves also perceived the stereotype that Asian students study well. Thus, they stated not only benefit from the perception that Asians are smart but also the stress they put on themselves.

While discussing the Asian image, Korean immigrant mothers and children stated their perceptions on discrimination. A previous study with Korean immigrants in the United States found a significant relationship between perceived discrimination and depressive symptoms (Noh, Kaspar, & Wickrama, 2007). During the current study's interview with mothers, only three mothers shared their perceptions of and experiences with discrimination. It was interesting that only mothers who worked where they interacted mainly with Americans, not Korean Americans, described challenges with discrimination. Other mothers did not express concerns about discrimination regarding themselves or their children. Children's interviews reflected these mothers' attitudes toward discrimination. Only three children reported that their parents

had reminded them that their Korean ethnicity and their status as part of a minority group are potential barriers for them in the future.

Regarding their status as members of a minority in the United States, Korean immigrant adolescents in the current study were less likely to believe that the issue of discrimination would affect their lives. Rather, they stated that they were perceived positively in their surroundings and held a positive self-identity as members of Asian minority. As shown in previous research (e.g., Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998; Noh et al., 1999), positive group identity seemed to help individuals cope better with discrimination against certain groups, even in Korean immigrant families. In that sense, the results of this study reconfirmed the importance of helping minority members perceive themselves as positive and develop positive self-identity.

In addition, there was no difference in children's attitudes regarding discrimination whether children's parents discussed the potential challenges their minority children would confront or not. Korean immigrant mothers and children in the current study believed that whether they expressed concerns about discrimination or not, they conveyed similar perspectives on the coping method against discrimination. They believed they could control the challenge through working hard. In other words, even when they accepted their limitations or barriers as an Asian minority, they thought that trying harder than lay native Americans would be the way to overcome discrimination, rather than fighting against discrimination.

Facing challenges, Korean immigrant mothers commented on the helpful resources of their immigrant lives, such as their religious faith, Korean immigrant churches, Korean schools, Korean cultural organizations, extended family members in Korean, and Korean and American friends. Their adolescent children also named the resources that have been helpful in their adjustment to the American society other than their parents, such as American friends at school

and Korean organizations. Korean organizations were important factors for both mothers and children to get psychological and practical help and to keep their Korean culture and identity. This result is consistent with the previous research that approximately 75% of Korean immigrants regularly attend church services, and their young children attend weekly Korean school (Kang, 2013; Yoo & Kim, 2014); thus, these Korean organizations play important roles as the key centers to provide helpful information for Korean immigrant families' adjustment and to help them retain their Korean identity in the United States (Min, 2011).

The other important finding in the current study was that, though Korean immigrant adolescents acculturated to the host culture faster, there was no significant difference in mothers' orientation and children's orientation toward Korean culture. Several previous studies have reported that the experience of both mainstream and heritage cultures among immigrant children are unlike those of their parents, which may lead to discrepancies or conflicts between adolescents and their parents (Giguere et al., 2010; Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000; Ying & Han, 2007). These studies reported that it was because immigrant parents tend to maintain the cultural values from their country of origin, but their children tend to be influenced by the host culture (Chao, 1994; Kim, 2001; Lee et al., 2000). Specifically, adolescents with immigrant parents are likely to face intergenerational conflicts caused by their discordant values, different experience of social and historical circumstances, or different acculturation levels (Lau, Jernewall, Zane, & Myers, 2002; Lee & Liu, 2001). Park (2003) insisted that different life experiences between children and parents inevitably widen the generational gap, leading to conflicting consciousness and interpretations of reality that push children and parents into separate social worlds. These life experience differences create generational gaps that are compounded by the stress of acculturation and language barriers, which in turn aggravate intergenerational conflicts (Phinney,

Ong, & Madden, 2000; Ying, Coombs, & Lee, 1999). Cho & Bae (2005) argued that the intergenerational and cultural conflicts between Korean immigrant parents and their children predicted Korean American adolescents' depression, anxiety, somatic symptoms, and even suicide.

However, the results from this study propose that even when immigrant children's attitude toward the host culture is higher than their mothers' attitude, it is important to consider children's attitude toward the heritage culture in understanding immigrant families' conflicts or immigrant children's psychological adjustment issues in relation to the acculturation process among immigrant family members. In a study of Chinese immigrants, children's Chinese language proficiency was positively related to mother-child cohesion (Luo & Wiseman, 2000). Another study of Chinese American children discovered that bilingual and Chinese monolingual children experienced less family conflict than children who speak English only (Portes & Hao, 2002). These studies have suggested that more positive children's attitude toward their native culture, the better the family adjustment for immigrant children, which in turn negatively related to these children's psychological adjustment issues.

Korean immigrant families in the current study expressed several traditional Korean values, such as parents' sacrifices in rearing their children, respecting elders, and keeping family harmony and this result is consistent with previous studies (Sung, 2000; Yoo & Kim, 2010). While other previous studies reported on the potential of intergenerational conflict between immigrant parents and their children (Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000; Ying, Coombs, & Lee, 1999) and their negative psychological effects on parents and children (Hung, 2007; Kim et al, 2006; Ying & Han, 2008), Wang and Mallinckrodt (2006) showed that a stronger attitude toward the heritage culture is not associated with psychological adjustment issues. Skinner (2000) also

reported that acculturation level was not related to depression among Chinese American teenagers. The results of the current study demonstrate that while parents have a stronger attitude toward the heritage culture, children tend to show that they accept the two different realms in their life. As Giguere et al. (2010) reported that children of immigrant parents tended to experience being bicultural by holding "group memberships" in both heritage and mainstream cultures, Korean adolescent children in this study also reported that they accepted two different cultures, and believed it was natural for them to accept two different cultures as the offspring of immigrants. This attitude helped them understand their parents. For example, these Korean adolescents stated that at school they lived in the American culture, and at home they lived in the Korean culture. Though their Korean parents did not express love (e.g., saying they love them or hugging them), Korean immigrant children perceived their parents' love through parents' working long hours, preparing food only for them, and spending only on them. This result supports the previous findings that bicultural adolescents tend to hold both norms concurrently; they simply alternate between heritage and mainstream cultural norms (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009).

Therefore, the results of the current study assert that children's stronger attitude toward the host culture is not always associated with psychological adjustment issues if children have a stronger attitude toward the heritage culture even though immigrant parents' and their children's life experiences are different. In other words, Korean immigrant adolescents were often able to switch their cultural identities from one norm to another to avoid conflict. Thus, instead of explaining immigrant children's psychological adjustment issues from the perspective of immigrant parents and their children's intergenerational differences toward the host culture, we need to consider children's understanding of the heritage culture, which served as a buffer

against their psychological adjustment issues, while parents remain attached to their culture of origin. Due to their similar attitudes toward Korean culture to their parents, these Korean immigrant children understood traditional Korean ways in which their parents practiced their academic socialization and expressed their love for them. In turn, these children with higher attitudes toward Korean culture experience lower psychological adjustment issues under parental academic socialization, which conveyed the heritage culture's practices and beliefs for children's education.

Parental Practices for Their Children

Previous studies have consistently found that the home environment is the most important factor in understanding students' academic achievements (Peng & Wright, 1994; WEAC, 2005). This study aimed to gain a better understanding of the relationship among immigrant parents' attitudes toward the host culture and the heritage culture, their parental involvement at home in their children's education, and children's perceptions of parental warmth and psychological adjustment. Korean immigrant mothers reported their emphasis on academic socialization, and their children reported their perceived parental support for their education. In the current study, mothers' higher attitude toward Korean culture was associated with stronger academic socialization of emotional autonomy support, competitiveness, and demanding hard work. All three types of Korean immigrant mothers' higher academic socialization were related to fewer psychological adjustment issues. Unlike the other two types of academic socialization, Korean immigrant mothers' higher academic socialization of demanding hard work was associated with a greater orientation toward both Korean and American cultures. Having previous knowledge about Korean society, they also had a perception that getting good grades in the United States was much easier than doing so in South Korea. Thus, they were likely to think that if their

children put forth more effort, their children should earn good grades; and it will be easier for their children to attain higher social status than they did in the United States. In other words, demanding hard work in supporting their children's academic achievement was an important key factor to understand Korean immigrant mothers' academic socialization in relation to their acculturation attitudes. These Korean immigrant mothers transmitted their cultural values of hard work in the host country in supporting their children's educational achievement.

In addition, a heavy emphasis on hard work in Korean immigrant mothers' academic socialization was related to children's lower perceived maternal warmth. The results from the serial mediation in the current study indicate that higher levels of mother's attitude toward Korean culture significantly increased mother's emphasis on hard work, which in turn decreased child's psychological adjustment issues. However, there is an interaction between demanding hard work and maternal warmth such that when Korean immigrant child perceives less maternal warmth due to mothers' stronger demand for hard work, child's psychological adjustment issues increase. Korean immigrant children in the current study seemed to already be pushing themselves hard. In other words, they were probably pushing themselves at least as hard as anybody else was pushing them, so when their mothers' emphasis on hard work increased, their perceived maternal warmth decreased. Qin (2008) supported the finding of the current study, stating that the pressure for academic excellence had negative impacts on Asian immigrant family dynamics. She noted that although Asian immigrant parents exerted a lot of pressure on their children regarding education, they paid little attention to other aspects of children's development. An overemphasis on education and academics leads to adolescents' negative emotional outcomes and breaks the balance in multidimensional adolescent development. Thus, this result asserts that, though parental warmth can counteract the potentially negative effects of

emphasizing hard work, it is crucial for Korean immigrant parents to monitor their levels of demanding that their children work hard and its effect on their children's psychological adjustment in facilitating their education at home.

In the interviews, Korean immigrant mothers also reported their support for their children's academic attainment, especially encouraging children's autonomy. Mothers in the study stated that they were not able to provide adequate academic teaching to their children because they had not been educated in the United States. Due to their limited English proficiency, Korean immigrant mothers expressed their frustration with feeling unable to prepare for their children's education. However, these mothers, although they could not teach their children academic contents directly, searched for the information to support their children's education. Thus, the children practiced autonomy in their education, and Korean immigrant parents cooperatively supported their children through searching for information to guide their children's education.

Korean immigrant mothers also reported that they provided emotional support for their children's education through food. They believed that providing food for their children is an important role of a mother in supporting their children's education emotionally and physically healthy, which, in turn, enables them to focus on what they need to do. Previous studies about Korean immigrants have reported on food patterns of Korean immigrant families (Jasti & Lee, 2011; Kim & Wolpin, 2008). In Kim and Wolpin's study of Korean American families (2008), Korean immigrant mothers and fathers reported high frequencies of maintaining Korean daily lifestyles of food, and 97% of Korean immigrant adolescent respondents also reported they ate Korean food fairly often or very often.

However, none of academic research investigated feeding children as a type of parental academic socialization in the immigrant families and its effect on children's perceived maternal warmth. Actually, Humphrey and Humphrey (1988) demonstrated the importance of the contexts of food consumption and its connection to meaningful bonds among people. Food is consumed every day. Food is definitely vital for physical survival, but it is also enormously meaningful as a unit of symbolic expression. According to Counihan and Van Esterik (1997), "Food is life, and life can be studied and understood through food" (p. 1). Therefore, the current study unfolded the role of food in Korean immigrant families' lives as a practice of academic socialization, children's perceptions of parental practice, and their psychological responses. During the interview, Korean immigrant adolescents often mentioned food as an expression of parental love. Food prepared for them by busy parents made these children understand that their parents cared for them and made them feel loved. Eating food together with parents also strengthened children's perceptions of parental love. Accordingly, foods were used as a means of parents' academic socialization for their children; and for children, foods were perceived as a means to connect with their parents and to feel closer to them as parents supported their lives, including academics.

In the findings of Korean immigrant parents' strategies in supporting their children's academics, mothers also mentioned providing extra tutoring for their children. The findings of this study not only confirm earlier work on Korean immigrant parents' practices but also add new aspects to the field. Previous studies on Korean immigrant parents' educational practices for their children noted that they greatly invest their money and time in providing extra tutoring at private institutions after school or in choosing a suburban residence in order to access a highly ranked public school (Min, 2006; Paik, 2001; Zhou & Kim, 2006). However, children who were

interviewed in the current study reported that attending private tutoring centers (HakWon) was a special and temporary activity only for math, science, or test prep. For them, going to HakWon was a luxury due to parents' struggles with finances; rather, they mentioned that they could succeed without having to pay if they studied by themselves or with help from their friends or school teachers. Korean immigrant mothers also stated that they did not provide extra tutoring for their children for two reasons: one was their limited finances, and the other was their perceptions of the US school system. Though these mothers viewed sending children to the tutoring centers after school as a kind of norm in South Korea, they believed it was easier for their children to earn good grades in the United States and that their children could get help from teachers. Only when they identified areas in which their children needed extra help, did they send their children to the tutoring center temporarily.

Conversation was also brought up by Korean immigrant mothers and their children as part of the parental practices used in supporting children's education. Topics of parent-child conversations were academics, future career, racialization as a Korean, discrimination, and spirituality. One of the interesting findings of this study is about Korean immigrant parents' heritage socialization and their perceptions of children's Korean American bicultural identity in parent-child conversations. This study described parents' actual socialization practices to encourage their children's bicultural competency. For example, since parents thought that their children's attitude toward Korean culture would naturally weaken in American society, they intentionally put effort into creating opportunities for their children to practice aspects of the Korean culture.

In conversation with their children, Korean immigrant parents required their children to speak both Korean and English. They also send them to Korean school every weekend, take

their children to Korea, and intentionally expose their children to Korean media. This result is consistent with Kim and Wolpin's study (2008). They reported that Korean American families have maintained Korean cultural and linguistic characteristics with importance placed on learning American values, customs, and English. This is also consistent with Berry's concept of integration, which states that immigrants pursue a balance of mainstream and heritage cultures (Berry, 2006). In addition, in their interactions with their children, these Korean immigrant mothers expressed their concerns that their children may confront barriers such as discrimination and financial struggles. This finding supported the previous studies' findings that many immigrant parents are aware that their children may confront barriers such as racism, teacher biases, and financial hardships (Behnke, Piercey, & Diversi, 2004; McKay, Atkins, Hawkins, Brown, & Lynn, 2003). While corroborating previous studies, the current study expands our existing understanding of immigrant families by attempting first to look at Korean American adolescents' perceptions of parental warmth in relation to academic socialization and psychological well-being.

Korean immigrant children also repeatedly stated that their parents reminded them of their heritage culture and identity as Koreans. They were exposed to Korean culture and language on a daily basis. The other interesting finding of the current study is that these Korean immigrant children mentioned Korean food as a part of Korean culture practiced at home, and eating Korean food at home was considered as a symbol of their Korean identity. Since food is an essential part of life and having food together as a family takes place on a daily basis, it was used as one of the most accessible means of reinforcing culture, whether Korean immigrant parents intended it to be so or not. In Weller and Turkon's study of the role of food in identity maintenance and formation for first-and second-generation Latinos in New York (2015), the

results indicate that food creates a physical link that connects individuals to their heritage culture. Despite variability in the importance that immigrants attribute to food, it remains one of the most resilient tools that study participants identified as central to identity formation and maintenance. Thus, the result of this study is that food is not only a tool for Korean immigrant mothers' academic socialization and can also be a valuable means for examining the degree to which immigrants are maintaining their cultural identity.

In addition, Korean immigrant children stated that they were aware of the difficulties and challenges their parents faced in migrating to the United States. Children in the current study described parents' emphasis on hard work in their academics but, at the same time, mentioned other responsibilities such as caring for a younger sibling or holding a part-time job to help with parents' difficult work and low social status. However, all the children interviewees convincingly perceived their parents' desire to support them even if they found it hard to make a living. They felt a responsibility to make up for these difficulties through academic and financial achievements in the future. These results are also consistent with the previous studies as well (Lee, 2009; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Song, 2010).

The Meanings of Education

In understanding Korean immigrant parents' academic socialization and their children's perceptions of their parents' influence, it was important to investigate the meaning of education that parents and their children hold. Through the interviews, Korean immigrant parents' and their children's beliefs on education were revealed, including their goals, benefits of education, driving forces behind children's education, and perspectives on academic achievement. The important educational goals for Korean immigrant mothers were related to not only encouraging academic achievement but also emphasizing ethical behavior to their children. Their children

also testified that their parents instructed them to become better people who exhibit Korean manners, such as greeting elders and serving other people. According to McGillicuddy-De Lisi and Subramanian (1996), immigrant parents' beliefs about children's learning and development are related to their particular cultures, which may encompass significant sociocultural meanings and common values. Chang (2003) also stated that Asian immigrant parents under the influence of Confucius ideology tend to retain child-rearing practices and traditional values such as emphasizing the virtue of respect for their parents and ancestors and respect for the elderly. Korean immigrant parents in the current study supported these previous studies' results from research on Asian immigrants' parenting, holding educational beliefs from the culture of origin as well as constructing beliefs from their individual histories within the current cultural and social settings.

Mothers' experiences as immigrants in the United States were one of the key features in understanding parents' educational aspirations and practices at home as well. Korean immigrant parents expressed feasible goals for their children such as a bachelor's degree as a minimum education level. Most of the mothers stated that their husbands and they themselves were not able to apply their pre-migration education, job experience, or social status upon their immigration. As Yoo and Kim's research (2014) reported, many Korean immigrant parents experienced financial uncertainties and downward social mobility, and mothers in the current study reported similar struggles as well as discrimination, which in turn led them to especially hope that their children would utilize the benefit of education to secure a good financial status. In other words, Korean immigrant mothers guided their children to obtain higher education as protection from all the difficulties they had experienced as immigrants in the United States. However, Korean mothers expressed more concern with their children's happiness and security,

whereas the children seemed more concerned with pleasing their parents, who they viewed as having lived hard lives. In addition, these parents also stressed to their children the necessity of working harder than they did in their host society as another form of protection from potential discrimination. Korean mothers' perceptions of potential challenges their children may encounter affected their aspirations and parental strategies. This result is consistent with the finding of a study by Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke (2008) which reported that African American parents' perceptions of barriers affected their aspirations for children's education. Observing their parents' struggle with language difficulties and hard work, Korean adolescent respondents in this study felt pressure to be self-sufficient or to earn scholarships to help their parents.

Emotional satisfaction was another benefit of education that Korean immigrant mothers and their children stated. High expectations for children's academic achievement from the Korean immigrant community and extended family members in Korea caused parents and children to feel pressure, fear, depression, or self-criticism. It was not only other people's perspectives, but the children themselves also compared themselves to other Korean or Asian students and hoped to support their parents. In addition, most of the children expressed hopes for their future careers or the majors they were considering, and these choices reflected their parents' desires. As Fuligni, Tseng, and Lam (1999) stated, the respect and honor for the family is often expressed in an indirect manner such as through academic pursuits, receiving good grades, or going to a prestigious college, which is emotionally satisfying for Korean immigrant children and their parents. Yoo also stated, in her book regarding adult Korean immigrants (2014), that children of immigrants constantly receive the message in adolescence that the best way to respond to their immigrant parents' hardship and make their sacrifices worthwhile is to do well in school.

In the current study, gender difference existed in how "getting good grades" was viewed by children. Daughters saw good grades or entering a prestigious college as something that could allow them to enjoy life as independent and self-sufficient beings, while sons were trying to prepare to take care of their own families and their parents in the future. Boys' perceptions on education seem to reflect Confucian culture, which has a strong influence on sex roles. Confucianism established firmly different roles for each parent (Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001). For Korean American parents in the Confucian tradition, the different roles for men and women are viewed as important heritages (Kim & Park, 2003; Lee, 1997). It is the duty of a man to care for and protect his family, and the duty of a woman is to take care of the household issues and family relations. However, girls' perceptions of education in the current study were not consistent with the traditional Confucian role of mother, who is seen as the caregiver, housewife, and emotional provider (Park & Cho, 1995). Actually, Korean immigrant women have expressed a "disdain for Korean patriarchy" (Kim, 2006). Parental beliefs about child-rearing goals are constructed in the culture and social environments in which families reside (Harkness & Super, 2002), and immigrant Korean fathers' and mothers' roles are different in a new country (Kim, 1998; Yoo & Kim, 2014). Thus, this study reconfirmed that Korean immigrant parenting is modified in the rearing of children, especially girls, in the United States, in which independence, social assertiveness, and confidence are desired (Rubin & Chung, 2006).

Additionally, in connection with changed immigrant parental roles in a new country, Korean immigrant mothers and their children shared their perceptions on how Korean immigrant fathers supported their children's education. In the current study, Korean immigrant fathers' roles were described as supporting children financially, providing children with moral rather than academic teaching, and guiding and supervising the children at a macro level rather than a micro

level. According to Lamb (2000), fathers have historically been cast in one of four main roles: moral guide, breadwinner, same-sex role model, and, most recently, nurturer. In other words, Korean immigrant fathers were perceived as a moral guide or breadwinner by their family members, and thus, they seemed to have less interaction with the children than mothers regarding supporting their education.

The current study used a mixed methods approach, yielding a more dynamic and multidimensional understanding regarding relations between parental acculturation and adolescents' academic and psychological outcomes through parental academic socialization and adolescents' perceived parental warmth. Despite the merits of the findings, this study has a few limitations. The following section discusses the limitations of the study and suggests a direction for future research to expand the understanding of mechanisms that link parents' acculturation, its effect on parents' academic socialization, adolescents' perceptions, and adolescents' psychological adjustment issues.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This study offers insight into how immigrant parents' attitudes toward the host culture and the heritage culture influence their children's academic and psychological outcomes through the indirect effects of mothers' academic socialization and children's perceived maternal warmth. The study highlights the complex mechanisms of immigrant parents' acculturation process, its effect on their parental practices in supporting children's academics, and immigrant children's unique frame of understanding their parents' supports, which in turn affects children's psychological adjustment in minority Korean immigrant families. However, we need further investigations to understand the mechanism due to the limitations of the study.

First, this study is potentially vulnerable to selection bias and participant bias. Selection bias refers to any selection process that is less than completely randomized (Creswell, 2009). Since the research participants are derived from a convenience sample, individuals are possibly inclined to present people groups who keep a connection with Korean community. Participant bias refers to any conscious or subconscious attempts of the participants to skew their responses in a favorable light (Jackson, 2006). Thus, the study results have limited application to Korean immigrant parents and children who do not participate in any activities offered by Korean immigration organizations. One other common character trait of the mother participants is that they were all born in South Korea. Study results for second-generation Korean parents and their children may be different from this study. In addition, the results of case studies with seven mother-child dyads are not designed to stand for all minority families or provide a model for further analytic testing. Thus, the results are not generalizable but provide in-depth knowledge from an exploratory investigation based on qualitative interviews.

Second, the participating children's ages range from 12 to 17. Thus, the different developmental stages of participating children and their genders may affect the results differently. Parents of the younger children may provide different types of parental academic socialization. In addition, parents of middle school students and parents of high school students may socialize their children differently with respect to academic achievement. Moreover, children in developmental stages may perceive parental warmth differently, and those perceptions may affect psychological adjustment issues differently. Therefore, future research should examine how the different developmental stages impact parental academic socialization, the children's perceptions of parental warmth, and to what extent parents' and children's genders affect the results.

Third, there are latent issues of experiences with discrimination and psychological distress among Korean immigrant parents in their processes of acculturation and in their children's attitudes toward their heritage culture. In the current study, Korean immigrant adolescents' greater understanding of Korean culture was associated with children's higher perceived parental warmth. Therefore, future investigations need to find a way to help children develop healthy bicultural attitudes. In addition, children, who adopt American culture faster than their immigrant parents, often help their parents with navigating the linguistic and cultural contours of the host culture. These experiences may lead to different kinds of parental academic socialization and children's perceptions of their parents' role. Therefore, future research should examine in what way the different levels of parents' and children's acculturation impact parents' beliefs and practices in their academic socialization and to what extent adolescents' experiences, as reared under the immigrant parents, lead to varied psychological distress in their own cultural groups. Future studies also need to investigate changes in a child's role within the family, how child's role interacts with important Korean values such as parents' being the primary educators, and how it facilitates emotional bonding of family members. Further, the study findings indicate a need for providing culturally sensitive mental health programs that adequately help Korean immigrant parents and children.

APPENDIX A

Demographic Questionnaire

Directions: Thank you for participating in this study on home-based parental involvement among Korean immigrant families. I have a few additional questions for you. Please put a checkmark in the boxes and write in your responses on the lines provided. Please write N/A (Not Applicable) if the question does not apply to you.

<table>
<tr><td>Male_____Female_____
Age: _____</td><td>Ethnicity:_____
Partner's ethnicity:_____</td><td>Birthplace (region or Country):
_____
_____</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Education? High school _____ Associate degree_____ Undergraduate_____ Graduate_____</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Regions of the United States and countries outside the United States you have lived and numbers of years:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Current place of residence:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Nationality of
your father:
your mother:
your partner:</td><td>Place of birth (country) of
your father:
your mother:
your partner:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Marital Status: Single _____ living with someone_____ Married_____
Divorced_____ Never married_____
If married, how long have you been married? _____</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Your religion : Catholic ____ Protestant____ Buddhism____ Atheism____ Other____
Partner's religion: Catholic ____ Protestant____ Buddhism____ Atheism____ Other____</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">How often do you attend religious meeting? Rarely ____ Sometimes____ Often____ Regularly____</td></tr>
</table>

Your language proficiency	**Not At All**	**Very Little**	**Moderately**	**Well**	**Very Well**
Korean					
English					

Conversation with your partner mainly in Korean _____ English_____ Korean & English_____

Children (grade and gender) 1) _____ 2)_____ 3)__

Nationality of your child:_____ Place of birth (country) of your child:_____

If your child was born in a different country, how old was your child when he/she came to the U. S. ?

Your child's language proficiency	**Not At All**	**Very Little**	**Moderately**	**Well**	**Very Well**
Korean					
English					

Conversation with your child mainly in Korean _____ English_____ Korean & English_____

What is your child's estimated Grade Point Average (GPA)?

a. 2. 4 or below_____ b. 2. 9-2. 5_____ c. 3. 4-3. 0_____ d. 4. 0-3. 5_____

Your Average yearly household income:

____less than $40,000

____between $40,000 and 80,000

____between $80,000 and 120,000

____more than $120,000

APPENDIX B

설문지

한인부모들의 가정에서의 청소년 교육참여에 관한 연구에 참여해주셔서 감사드립니다. 질문에 대한 본인의 해당사항에 표시해주시거나 제시된 선에 답변을 적어주십시오. 귀하에게 해당사항이 없으신 항목은 N/A 를 적어주시면 됩니다.

<table>
<tr><td>Gender(성별): 남자 여자
Age(나이): _____</td><td>Ethnicity(인종):_____
Partner's ethnicity(부모의 인종):
_____</td><td>Birthplace (region or Country출생지):
_____
__</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Education(교육)?
High school(고등학교) _____ Associate degree(전문대학)_____ Undergraduate(4년제대학) _____ Graduate(대학원)_____</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Regions of the United States and countries outside the United States you have lived and numbers
of years(이전에 거주한 다른 나라와 미국내 거주한 도시의 기간을 적어주세요): _____</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Current place of residence(현재의 거주지):</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Nationality of (국적)
your father(부):
your mother(모):
your partner(배우자):</td><td>Place of birth (country) of (출생장소)
your father(부):
your mother(모):
your partner(배우자):</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Marital Status(결혼여부):
Single(독신) _____ living with someone(동거)_____ Married(혼인)_____
Divorced_____ Never married_____
If married, how long have you been married(혼인상태라면, 기간은)? _____</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Your religion(종교):
Catholic(카톨릭) _____ Protestant(개신교)_____ Buddhism(불교)_____ Atheism(무신론)_____ Other(기타)_____
Partner's religion :
Catholic(카톨릭) _____ Protestant(개신교)_____ Buddhism(불교)_____ Atheism(무신론)_____ Other(기타)_____</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">How often do you attend religious meeting(종교모임 참여 정도)?
Rarely(드물게) _____ Sometimes(가끔)_____ Often(자주)_____ Regularly(정기적으로)_____</td></tr>
</table>

Your language proficiency (본인의 언어숙달도)	**Not At All (전혀못함)**	**Very Little (조금)**	**Moderately (보통)**	**Well (잘함)**	**Very Well (아주잘함)**
Korean (한국어)					
English (영어)					

Conversation with your partner mainly in (배우자 혹은 동거인과의 대화시 주로 사용하는 언어는)
Korean(한국어) _____ English(영어)_____ Korean & English(영어와 한글)_____

Children (grade and gender: 자녀들의 학년 및 성별):
1)_____ 2)_____ 3)_____)

Nationality of your child(자녀국적) :_____
Place of birth (country) of your child(자녀가 태어난 나라):_____

If your child was born in a different country, how old was your child when he/she came to the U. S (자녀가 다른 나라에서 태어났다면, 미국으로 올때 자녀는 몇 살이었습니까)? ___

Your child's language proficiency (자녀의 언어숙달도)	**Not At All (전혀못함)**	**Very Little (조금)**	**Moderately (보통)**	**Well (잘함)**	**Very Well (아주잘함)**
Korean (한국어)					
English (영어)					

Conversation with your child mainly in (자녀와의 대화시 주로 사용하는 언어는)
Korean(한국어) _____ English(영어)_____ Korean & English(영어와 한글)_____

What is your child's estimated Grade Point Average (GPA) (자녀의 평점은)**?**
a. 4. 0-3. 5_____b. 3. 4-3. 0_____c. 2. 9-2. 5_____d. 2. 4 or below

Your Average yearly household income(가족의 연평균 소득):
less than $40,000**(4만달러 미만)** _____
between $40,000 and 80,000**(4만달러- 8만달러)** _____
between $80,000 and 120,000**(8만달러 - 12만달러)** _____
more than $120,000**(12만달러 이상)** _____

APPENDIX C

Semi-Structured Interview Questions with the Parents

Acculturation

- How did you come to the United States?
- Do you describe how you consider yourself as a Korean, Korean American, or American? Why?
- Can you describe your experiences of difficulties in adjusting to the U. S. ?
- Is it important for you that your child preserves his/her Korean cultural beliefs and ways of life? Why or why not? If yes, how do you help the child?

Parental practices

- Can you describe a daily routine of your child?
- How well your child do at school? How do you know if your child does well in school? Also, are there any standards that you expect your child meet?
- Are there any learning activities that you or one of your family members does with your child to help him learn something? If so, could you describe them in facilitating your child's academic achievement?

Meaning of the parents' educational goals and expectations for their children

- What specific goals do you have for your child's future, in terms of education, job, family, friend, money, etc. ? Why are those goals important to you?
- Is it important to you that your child receives a good education? Why or why not?
- How much education do you hope your child will obtain? From your perspective, how important is it for your child to achieve that educational level?

- How do you perceive the role of educational attainment in adjusting to life in the U. S. ?
- What barriers or challenges do you think your child might confront in his or her achievement as an adult even after finishing a certain level of education? U. S.
- If your child does not do well in school, what outcomes do you fear most?

Transferring ways of parental beliefs and interaction with the child

- Does your child know your expectations for his/her educational attainment? If so, how do they know about it?
- Does your child have the same goals as you for your child's educational attainment? If there are differences, how do you negotiate those difference in your parenting?
- Do you see any difference between you and your child in keeping Korean values? If you do, how do you and your child make a decision over those issues?
- Are there times when you feel helpless with your child? If so, when and why?
- Can you tell me about a time when you felt angry with your child or when you felt like everything was going wrong?
- Have you ever sought advice or help regarding differences with your child on academic achievement, cultural differences, or other sources of stress? If so, why, from whom, how, and when?

APPENDIX D

인터뷰 질문들_부모

Acculturation

- 미국에 오시게 된 과정을 설명해 주시겠어요?
- 한국인, 한국계 미국인, 미국인 중 어떤 표현이 본인을 잘 나타내주는 것이라고 여기시나요? 이유는 무엇인가요?

- 미국 적응과정 중 힘드셨던 경험들을 설명해 주시겠어요?
- 자녀가 한국의 전통적 가치나 방식을 지키는 것이 중요하다고 생각하시나요? 이유를 설명해주시겠어요? 만약 중요하다고 여기신다면, 그 부분에서 어떻게 자녀를 돕고 계신가요?

Parental practices

- 자녀의 하루 일과를 말씀해주시겠어요?
- 자녀의 학교 생활은 어떻습니까? 자녀가 학교에서 잘 지내고 있는지 어떻게 아시나요? 또한, 자녀의 학교 생활에 대한 기준치 같은 것이 있으신가요?
- 자녀가 숙제나 개인 공부를 위한 도움을 받을 수 있나요? 자녀의 학업을 돕기 위해 학업과 관련된 활동들을 시키시는지요? 만약 있다면, 설명해주시겠어요

Meaning of parents' educational goals and expectations for their children

- 자녀의 교육, 직업, 가정, 친구, 재정 등 자녀의 미래와 관련해서 구체적 목표들을 가지고 계신가요? 이런 목표들이 부모님께 왜 중요한가요?
- 자녀가 좋은 교육을 받는 것이 부모님께 중요한가요? 왜 중요한가요? (왜 중요하지 않나요?)

- 자녀가 어느정도까지 교육을 받기를 바라시는지요? 부모님 관점에서, 자녀가 그 정도의 교육을 받는 것이 왜 중요하다고 여기시는지요?
- 교육이 미국 생활 정착에 어떤 역할을 한다고 보시나요?
- 자녀가 적정수준의 교육을 받은 후, 자아를 성취해 나가는 과정 중, 현실에서 겪을 수 있는 어려움은 어떤 것들이 있다고 보시나요?
- 내 양육을 받은 자녀가 어른이 되었을 때, 이런 결과는 절대 일어나지 않았으면하는 두려운 결과는 어떤 것이 있을까요?

Transferring ways of parental beliefs to children

- 귀하의 교육에 대한 기대치를 자녀가 알고 있나요? 만약 그렇다면, 어떻게 자녀가 알게되었나요?
- 자녀의 학업성취도와 관련해서 부모님의 목표와 자녀의 목표에 다른 부분이 있나요? 만약 그렇다면, 자녀 양육시 이런 부분들은 어떻게 조절하시나요?
- 한국적 가치들을 지키려는 부분에 있어 부모님과 자녀사이에 차이가 있나요? 만약 있다면, 그런 부분들은 자녀와 어떻게 결정을 내리나요?
- 자녀와 관련해선 무력하다고 느끼실 때가 있나요? 만약 그렇다면, 어떤 때 그리고 왜 그런 느낌을 가지게 되시나요?
- 자녀에게 화가 나거나, 자녀와 관련해서 제대로 되지않고 있다고 느끼는 순간들에 대해서 말씀해 주시겠어요?
- 자녀의 학업성취도, 자녀와의 문화적 차이, 혹은 다른 스트레스들로 도움이나 조언을 구하신 적이 있나요? 만약 그렇다면, 왜, 누구에게, 언제, 어떻게 구하셨습니까?

APPENDIX E

Semi-Structured Interview Questions with the Child

Acculturation

- How did you come to the United States?
- Do you consider yourself as a Korean, Korean American, or American? Why?
- Can you describe your experiences of difficulties in adjusting to the U. S. ?
- Is it important for you to preserve Korean cultural beliefs and ways of life? Why or why not? If yes, what do you do to keep them?

Parental practices

- Can you describe your daily routine?
- How well do you do at school? How do your parents know if you do well in school? What standards do your parents expect you to meet?
- Are there any activities that you do to learn something? If so, can you describe them?

Meaning of the child's educational goals and parental expectations

- What specific goals do you have for your future, in terms of education, job, friend, family, money, etc. ? Why are those goals important to you?
- How much education do you hope to obtain? How important is it for you to achieve that educational level? Why?
- What barriers or challenges do you think you might confront as an adult even after finishing a certain level of education?
- If you do well in school, what outcomes do you fear most?

Perceived parental beliefs and interaction with the parents

- Do your parents know your goals for education? If so, how do they know about it?
- Do your parents have different expectations for your educational attainment? If there are differences, how do you negotiate those differences with your parents?
- Do you see any difference between you and your parents in keeping Korean values? If you do, how do you and your parents make a decision over those issues?
- Are there times when you feel helpless with your parents? If so, when and why?
- Can you tell me about a time when you felt angry with your parents or when you felt like everything was going wrong?
- Have you ever sought advice or help regarding differences with your parents on academic achievement, cultural differences between you and your parents, or other sources of stress? If so, why, from whom, how, and when?

APPENDIX F

인터뷰 질문들_자녀

Acculturation

- 미국에 오게 된 과정을 설명해 주시겠어요?
- 한국인, 한국계 미국인, 미국인 중 어떤 표현이 본인을 잘 나타내주는 것이라고 여기시나요? 이유는 무엇인가요?
- 본인은 한국의 전통적 가치나 방식을 지키는 것이 중요하다고 생각하시나요? 이유를 설명해주시겠어요? 만약 중요하다고 여기신다면, 그 부분을 지키기 위해 하는 것이 있나요?

Parental practices

- 하루 일과를 말씀해주시겠어요?
- 학교 생활은 어떻습니까? 학교에서 잘 지내고 있는지 부모님은 어떻게 아시나요? 또한, 학교 생활에 대한 부모님의 기준치 같은 것이 있으신가요?
- 무언가 배우기 위한 활동들을 하나요 만약 있다면, 설명해주시겠어요

Meaning of parents' educational goals and expectations for their children

- 교육, 직업, 가정, 친구, 재정 등 미래와 관련된 어떤 목표들을 가지고 계신가요? 이런 목표들이 본인에게 왜 중요한가요?
- 좋은 교육을 받는 것이 본인에게 중요한가요? 그 이유를 설명해 주시겠어요?
- 어느정도까지 교육을 받기를 바라시는지요? 그 정도의 교육을 받는 것이 왜 중요하다고 생각합니까?

- 교육을 받는 것이 미국에서 적응해서 살아가는데 어떤 역할을 한다고 생각하나요?
- 적정수준의 교육을 받고 어른이 된 후, 현실에서 겪을 수 있는 장애, 어려움은 어떤 것들이 있다고 생각하시나요?
- 학교에서 잘하지 못했을 때의 결과로 가장 무서운 것은 무엇입니까?

Transferring ways of parental beliefs to children

- 본인의 학업목표에 대해서 부모님이 아시나요? 만약 그렇다면, 어떻게 부모님은 그것을 알게되었나요?
- 자녀의 학업성취도와 관련해서 본인의 목표와 부모님의 목표사이에 차이점이 있나요? 만약 있다면, 그 차이는 부모님과 어떻게 조절하나요?
- 한국적 가치들을 지키려는 부분에 있어 부모님과의 차이가 있나요? 만약 있다면, 그런 부분들은 부모님과 어떻게 결정을 내리나요?
- 부모님 앞에서 무력하다고 느끼실 때가 있나요? 만약 그렇다면, 어떤 때 그리고 왜 그런 느낌을 가지게 되시나요?
- 부모님에게 화가 나거나, 부모님과 관련해서 제대로 되지않고 있다고 느끼는 순간들에 대해서 말씀해 주시겠어요?
- 학업성취도, 부모님과의 문화적 차이, 혹은 다른 스트레스들로 도움이나 조언을 구하신 적이 있나요? 만약 그렇다면, 왜, 누구에게, 언제, 어떻게 구하셨습니까?

APPENDIX G

Bicultural Attitude Scale for Parents (Revised)

Instruction: Please indicate your opinions by encircling any one of the four alternative answers for each question.

1. How much are values of your host country a part of your life?

   Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

2. How important is it to you to celebrate holidays in the way of your host country?

   Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

3. How important is it to you to raise your children with values of your host country?

   Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

4. How important is it to you to speak in the language of your host country?

   Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

5. How important is it to you to wear the dress of your host country?

   Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

6. How much do you enjoy eating food of your host country?

   Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

7. How much do you enjoy the music of your host country?

   Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

8. How do you like that your children should marry someone belonging to your national or host culture?

   Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

9. How much are values of your country of origin a part of your life?

   Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

10. How important is it to you to celebrate holidays in the way of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

11. How important is it to you to raise your children with values of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

12. How important is it to you to speak in the language of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

13. How important is it to you to wear the dress of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

14. How much do you enjoy eating food of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

15. How much do you enjoy the music of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

16. How do you like that your children should marry someone belonging to the culture of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

♥ Abdul Khaleque, 2006
(Revised, October 2014)

APPENDIX H

성인용 이중 문화화 설문지

아래의 문항을 읽고 본인의 의견와 얼마나 일치하는지 “전혀 그렇지 않다”, “드물게 그렇다”, “때때로 그렇다”, “아주 그렇다” 중 선택하여 해당되는 칸에 o표 해주십시오.

	전혀 그렇지 않다	드물게 그렇다	때때로 그렇다	아주 그렇다
1. 일상에서 미국적 가치관을 따르십니까?	1	2	3	4
2. 미국의명절을 따르십니까?	1	2	3	4
3. 미국적 가지관으로 자녀를 키우는 것이 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
4. 영어를 사용하는 것이 얼마나 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
5. 미국스타일로 옷을 입는 것이 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
6. 미국 음식을 즐기십니까?	1	2	3	4
7. 미국 음악을 즐기십니까?	1	2	3	4
8. 자녀가 미국인과 결혼 하는 것을 얼마나 좋아하십니까?	1	2	3	4
9. 한국적 가치관이 얼마나 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
10. 한국의 전통휴일을 따르는 것이 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
11. 한국적 가치관으로 자녀를 키우는 것이 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
12. 한국말을 사용하는 것이 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
13. 한국스타일로 옷을 입는 것이 중요합니까?				
14. 한국음식을 즐기십니까?				
15. 한국음악을 즐기십니까?				
16. 자녀가 한국인과 결혼하는 것을 얼마나 좋아하십니까?				

APPENDIX I

Bicultural Attitude Scale for Children (Revised)

Instruction: Please indicate your opinions by encircling any one of the four alternative answers for each question.

1. How much are values of your host country a part of your life?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

2. How important is it to you to celebrate holidays in the way of your host country?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

3. How important is it to you to grow up with values of your host country?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

4. How important is it to you to speak in the language of your host country?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

5. How important is it to you to wear the dress of your host country?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

6. How much do you enjoy eating the food of your host country?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

7. How much do you enjoy the music of your host country?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

8. How do you like to marry someone belonging to your national or host culture?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

9. How much are values of your country of origin a part of your life?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

10. How important is it to you to celebrate holidays in the way of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

11. How important is it to you to grow up with values of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

12. How important is it to you to speak in the language of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

13. How important is it to you to wear the dress of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

14. How much do you enjoy eating food of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

15. How much do you enjoy the music of your country of country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

16. How do you like to marry someone belonging to the culture of your country of origin?

Not at all (1) A little (2) Somewhat (3) Very much (4)

♥ Abdul Khaleque, 2006 (Revised, October 2014).

APPENDIX J

Bicultural Attitude Scale for Child (Korean)

미성인용 이중 문화화 설문지

아래의 문항을 읽고 본인의 의견와 얼마나 일치하는지 “전혀 그렇지 않다”, “드물게 그렇다”, “때때로 그렇다”, “아주 그렇다” 중 선택하여 해당되는 칸에 o표 해주십시오.

	전혀 그렇지 않다	드물게 그렇다	때때로 그렇다	아주 그렇다
1. 일상에서 미국적 가치관을 따르십니까?	1	2	3	4
2. 미국의명절을 따르십니까?	1	2	3	4
3. 미국적 가치관을 가지고 자라는 것이 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
4. 영어를 사용하는 것이 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
5. 미국스타일로 옷을 입는 것이 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
6. 미국 음식을 즐기십니까?	1	2	3	4
7. 미국 음악을 즐기십니까?	1	2	3	4
8. 미국문화에 속한 사람과 결혼하고 싶습니까?	1	2	3	4
9. 한국적 가치관이 얼마나 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
10. 한국의 전통휴일을 따르는 것이 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
11. 한국적 가치관으로 자신이 성장하는 것이 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
12. 한국말을 사용하는 것이 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4
13. 한국스타일로 옷을 입는 것이 중요합니까?				
14. 한국음식을 즐기십니까?				
15. 한국음악을 즐기십니까?				
16. 한국인과 결혼하고 싶습니까?				

APPENDIX K

Parents Academic Socialization Questionnaire (English)

Directions: Read each statement below about your relationship with your child, and circle the number to indicate how true it is of you.

	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	Very Often
1. I am proud when my child does well on a test or paper in school.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I tell my child that work comes before play	1	2	3	4	5
3. I try to push my child to become the best.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I am happy when my child learns to do something by him/herself.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I talk to my child a lot about the importance of hard work.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I tell my child that he/she should always try to be the best.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I praise my child for his/her schoolwork.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I teach my child that the best way to get ahead in life is through hard work.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I compare my child's work to others.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I listen to my child's opinions and ideas about what he/she is learning	1	2	3	4	5
11. I tell my child stories about people who did not succeed because chose the easy way instead of working hard.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I push my child to enter competitions.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I often ask my child questions about what he/she is learning in school.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I explain that effort is the key to success.	1	2	3	4	5

15. I try to get my child to do better than his/her classmates.	1	2	3	4	5
	Never	**Rarely**	**Some-times**	**Often**	**Very Often**
16. I try to get my child to develop his/her special strengths or qualities.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I make sure my child finishes his/her schoolwork before letting him/her do other things.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I try to get my child to try to beat other students' grades.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I am interested in what my child is learning in school.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I make it clear to my child that his/her schoolwork should come first.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I teach my child that he/she has to do better than his/her classmates.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I try to get my child to find out what he/she loves to do and go after it.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I point out that only a few can be at the top of their field.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I am proud when my child succeeds in something he/she has tried to do.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I teach my child that it is important to be better than others.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX L

Parents Academic Socialization Questionnaire (Korean)

아래의 문항을 읽고 여러분이 자녀를 대하는 방식과 얼마나 일치하는지 "전혀 그렇지 않다", "드물게 그렇다", "때때로 그렇다", "자주 그렇다", "거의 항상 그렇다" 중 선택하여 해당칸에 ○표 주십시오.
Directions: Read each statement below about your relationship with your child, and circle the number to indicate how true it is of you.

	전혀 그렇지 않다 **Never**	드물게 그렇다 **Rarely**	때때로 그렇다 **Some-times**	자주 그렇다 **Often**	거의 항상 그렇다 **Very Often**
1. 나는 자녀가 학교의 시험이나 보고서에서 좋은 성적을 받을 때 자랑스럽다. I am proud when my child does well on a test or paper in school.	1	2	3	4	5
2. 나는 자녀에게 놀기 전에 할 일부터 하라고 말한다. I tell my child that work comes before play	1	2	3	4	5
3. 나는 자녀가 최고가 되도록 독려한다. I try to push my child to become the best.	1	2	3	4	5
4. 나는 자녀 스스로 무언가를 배울 때 기쁘다. I am happy when my child learns to do something by him/herself.	1	2	3	4	5
5. 나는 자녀에게 노력의 중요성을 강조한다. I talk to my child a lot about the importance of hard work.	1	2	3	4	5
	Never	**Rarely**	**Some-times**	**Often**	**Very Often**
6. 나는 자녀에게 항상 최고가 되어야한다고 말한다. I tell my child that he/she should always try to be the best.	1	2	3	4	5
7. 나는 자녀의 학업에 대해 칭찬해준다. I praise my child for his/her schoolwork.	1	2	3	4	5
8. 나는 인생에서 성공할 수 있는 최선의 방법은 노력을 통해서라고 가르친다. I teach my child that the best way to get ahead in life is through hard work.	1	2	3	4	5
9. 나는 자녀가 한 일을 다른 또래친구들 것과 비교한다. I compare my child's work to others.	1	2	3	4	5

10. 나는 자녀가 배우고 있는 것에 대한 자녀의 의견이나 생각을 듣는다. I listen to my child's opinions and ideas about what he/she is learning	1	2	3	4	5
11. 나는 자녀에게 노력대신 쉬운 길을 택했기 때문에 성공하지 못한 사람들에 대한 이야기를 해준다. I tell my child stories about people who did not succeed because chose the easy way instead of working hard.	1	2	3	4	5
12. 나는 자녀가 경쟁에 참여하도록 권한다. I push my child to enter competitions.	1	2	3	4	5
13. 나는 가끔 자녀가 현재 학교에서 무엇을 배우고 있는지 물어본다. I often ask my child questions about what he/she is learning in school.	1	2	3	4	5
14. 나는 자녀에게 노력이 성공의 열쇠라고 설명한다. I explain that effort is the key to success.	1	2	3	4	5
15. 나는 자녀가 자신의 동급생들보다 더 잘할 수 있도록 돕는다. I try to get my child to do better than his/her classmates.	1	2	3	4	5
	Never	**Rarely**	**Some-times**	**Often**	**Very Often**
16. 나는 자녀가 자신의 강점이나 장기들을 발전시킬수 있도록 돕는다. I try to get my child to develop his/her special strengths or qualities.	1	2	3	4	5
17. 나는 자녀가 다른 일을 하기 전 반드시 과제를 마치도록 한다. I make sure my child finishes his/her schoolwork before letting him/her do other things.	1	2	3	4	5
18. 나는 자녀가 다른 학생들보다 나은 성적을 얻도록 돕는다. I try to get my child to try to beat other students' grades.	1	2	3	4	5
19. 나는 자녀가 학교에서 무엇을 배우고 있는 지 관심이 있다. I am interested in what my child is learning in school.	1	2	3	4	5
20. 나는 자녀에게 학업에 우선 순위가 있다고 분명히 한다. I make it clear to my child that his/her schoolwork should come first.	1	2	3	4	5
21. 나는 자녀에게 반 친구들보다 더 잘해야한다고 가르친다. I teach my child that he/she has to do better than his/her classmates.	1	2	3	4	5

22. 나는 자녀가 좋아하는 일을 찾고, 그것을 추구하도록 도우려한다. I try to get my child to find out what he/she loves to do and go after it.	1	2	3	4	5
23. 나는 소수의 사람만이 자신들의 분야의 최고가 될 수 있다고 언급한다. I point out that only a few can be at the top of their field.	1	2	3	4	5
24. 나는 자녀가 스스로 시도해서 성공할 때 자랑스럽다. I am proud when my child succeeds in something he/she has tried to do.	1	2	3	4	5
25. 나는 자녀에게 다른 사람들보다 잘하는 것은 중요하다고 가르친다. I teach my child that it is important to be better than others.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX M

CHILD PARQ: Father (Short Form)

_____ _____
Name (or I.D. number) Date

The following pages contain a number of statements describing the way fathers sometimes act toward their children. I want you to think about how each one of these fits the way your father treats you.

Four boxes are drawn after each sentence. If the statement is *basically* true about the way your father treats you then ask yourself, "Is it almost *always* true?" or "Is it only *sometimes* true?" If you think your father almost always treats you that way, put an *X* in the box ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE; if the statement is sometimes true about the way your father treats you then mark SOMETIMES TRUE. If you feel the statement is basically *untrue* about the way your father treats you then ask yourself, "Is it *rarely* true?" or "Is it almost *never* true?" If it is rarely true about the way your father treats you put an *X* in the box RARELY TRUE; if you feel the statement is almost never true then mark ALMOST NEVER TRUE.

Remember, there is no right or wrong answer to any statement, so be as honest as you can. Respond to each statement the way you feel your father really is rather than the way you might like him to be. For example, if he almost always hugs and kisses you when you are good, you should mark the item as follows:

	MY FATHER	**TRUE OF MY FATHER**		**NOT TRUE OF MY FATHER**	
		Almost Always True	***Sometimes True***	***Rarely True***	***Almost Never True***
	Hugs and kisses me when I am good	☒	☐	☐	☐

_____
Respondent's significant male caregiver, if not father

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(Revised June, 2004)

MY FATHER		TRUE OF MY FATHER		NOT TRUE OF MY FATHER	
		Almost Always True	*Sometimes True*	*Rarely True*	*Almost Never True*
1.	Says nice things about me	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	Pays no attention to me	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	Makes it easy for me to tell him things that are important to me	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	Hits me, even when I do not deserve it	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.	Sees me as a big nuisance	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.	Punishes me severely when he is angry	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.	Is too busy to answer my questions	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.	Seems to dislike me	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.	Is really interested in what I do	☐	☐	☐	☐
10.	Says many unkind things to me	☐	☐	☐	☐
11.	Pays no attention when I ask for help	☐	☐	☐	☐
12.	Makes me feel wanted and needed	☐	☐	☐	☐
13.	Pays a lot of attention to me	☐	☐	☐	☐
14.	Goes out of his way to hurt my feelings	☐	☐	☐	☐
15.	Forgets important things I think he should remember	☐	☐	☐	☐
16.	Makes me feel unloved if I misbehave	☐	☐	☐	☐
17.	Makes me feel what I do is important	☐	☐	☐	☐
18.	Frightens or threatens me when I do something wrong	☐	☐	☐	☐
19.	Cares about what I think, and likes me to talk about it	☐	☐	☐	☐
20.	Feels other children are better than I am no matter what I do	☐	☐	☐	☐
21.	Lets me know I am not wanted	☐	☐	☐	☐
22.	Lets me know he loves me	☐	☐	☐	☐
23.	Pays no attention to me as long as I do nothing to bother him	☐	☐	☐	☐
24.	Treats me gently and with kindness	☐	☐	☐	☐

Appendix N

Child PARQ: 자녀의 부모 수용 거부에 관한 설문 (아버지)

본 설문 내용에는 맞고 틀린 답이 없습니다. 모든 문항에 빠짐없이 솔직하게 응답해 주시기 바랍니다.
문항을 읽고 적합하다고 생각되는 응답에 0 표해 주세요.

	그렇다		그렇지 않다	
	항상 그렇다	가끔 그렇다	별로 그렇지 않다	전혀 그렇지 않다
1. 내 아버지는 나에 대해 좋게 말한다				
2. 내 아버지는 내가 해도 되고 안되는 것이 무엇인지를 정확히 알고 있는지에 관해 신경을 쓴다				
3. 내 아버지는 내가 쉽게 신뢰할 수 있도록 도와준다				
4. 내 아버지는 내가 맞을 만한 짓을 하지 않았을 때라도 때릴 때가 있다				
5. 내 아버지는 나를 귀찮아 하는 것 같다				
6. 내 아버지는 화났을 때, 나를 심하게 혼낸다				
7. 내 아버지는 너무 바빠서 내 묻는 말에 대답을 하지 못할 때가 있다				
8. 내 아버지는 나에게 괜히 화를 낸다				
9. 내 아버지는 내 일에 진정 관심을 갖고 있다				
10. 내 아버지는 나에게 나쁜 말을 한다				
11. 내 아버지는 내가 도움을 청할 때 귀를 기울이지 않는다				
12. 내 아버지는 내가 필요한 존재라는 느낌이 들도록 한다				
13. 내 아버지는 나에게 관심을 많이 기울인다				
14. 내 아버지는 내 기분을 상하게 만든다				
15. 내 아버지는 내가 중요하다고 생각하는 일들을 종종 잊어버린다				
16. 내가 버릇없이 굴 때, 내 아버지는 더 이상 나를 사랑하지 않을 것 같은 생각이 든다				
17. 내 아버지는 내가 하는 일이 중요하다는 생각이 들게 해준다				
18. 내가 잘못을 저지를 경우, 내 아버지는 나를 윽박지르거나 위협적으로 대한다.				
19. 내 아버지는 내가 무엇을 생각하고 있는 지 샌경을 쓰며, 그것에 관해 이야기 하도록 북돋아 준다.				
20. 내가 무엇을 하든지 내 아버지는 내가 다른 아이들보다 더 낫다고 생각한다.				
21. 내 아버지는 내가 필요없는 존재라고 느끼게 한다.				
22. 내 아버지는 내가 아버지의 사랑을 받고 있다는 것을 알게해준다.				
23. 내 아버지는 내가 귀찮게할때만 내게 관심을 가진다.				
24. 내 아버지는 나를 다정다감하게 대한다.				

Appendix O

CHILD PARQ: Mother (Short Form)

_____ _____
Name (or I.D. number) Date

The following pages contain a number of statements describing the way mothers sometimes act toward their children. I want you to think about how each one of these fits the way your mother treats you.

Four boxes are drawn after each sentence. If the statement is *basically* true about the way your mother treats you then ask yourself, "Is it almost *always* true?" or "Is it only *sometimes* true?" If you think your mother almost always treats you that way, put an *X* in the box ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE; if the statement is sometimes true about the way your mother treats you then mark SOMETIMES TRUE. If you feel the statement is basically *untrue* about the way your mother treats you then ask yourself, "Is it *rarely* true?" or "Is it almost *never* true?" If it is rarely true about the way your mother treats you put an *X* in the box RARELY TRUE; if you feel the statement is almost never true then mark ALMOST NEVER TRUE.

Remember, there is no right or wrong answer to any statement, so be as honest as you can. Respond to each statement the way you feel your mother really is rather than the way you might like her to be. For example, if she almost always hugs and kisses you when you are good, you should mark the item as follows:

MY MOTHER	TRUE OF MY MOTHER		NOT TRUE OF MY MOTHER	
	Almost Always True	*Sometimes True*	*Rarely True*	*Almost Never True*
Hugs and kisses me when I am good	☒	☐	☐	☐

_____
Respondent's female caregiver, if not mother

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MY MOTHER		TRUE OF MY MOTHER		NOT TRUE OF MY MOTHER	
		Almost Always True	*Sometimes True*	*Rarely True*	*Almost Never True*
1.	Says nice things about me	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	Pays no attention to me	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	Makes it easy for me to tell her things that are important to me	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	Hits me, even when I do not deserve it	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.	Sees me as a big nuisance	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.	Punishes me severely when she is angry	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.	Is too busy to answer my questions	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.	Seems to dislike me	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.	Is really interested in what I do	☐	☐	☐	☐
10.	Says many unkind things to me	☐	☐	☐	☐
11.	Pays no attention when I ask for help	☐	☐	☐	☐
12.	Makes me feel wanted and needed	☐	☐	☐	☐
13.	Pays a lot of attention to me	☐	☐	☐	☐
14.	Goes out of her way to hurt my feelings	☐	☐	☐	☐
15.	Forgets important things I think she should remember	☐	☐	☐	☐
16.	Makes me feel unloved if I misbehave	☐	☐	☐	☐
17.	Makes me feel what I do is important	☐	☐	☐	☐
18.	Frightens or threatens me when I do something wrong	☐	☐	☐	☐
19.	Cares about what I think, and likes me to talk about it	☐	☐	☐	☐
20.	Feels other children are better than I am no matter what I do	☐	☐	☐	☐
21.	Lets me know I am not wanted	☐	☐	☐	☐
22.	Lets me know she loves me	☐	☐	☐	☐
23.	Pays no attention to me as long as I do nothing to bother her	☐	☐	☐	☐
24.	Treats me gently and with kindness	☐	☐	☐	☐

Appendix P

Child PARQ: 자녀의 부모 수용 거부에 관한 설문 (어머니)

본 설문 내용에는 맞고 틀린 답이 없습니다. 모든 문항에 빠짐없이 솔직하게 응답해 주시기 바랍니다.
문항을 읽고 적합하다고 생각되는 응답에 0 표해 주세요.

	그렇다		그렇지 않다	
	항상 그렇다	가끔 그렇다	별로 그렇지 않다	전혀 그렇지 않다
25. 내 어머니는 나에 대해 좋게 말한다				
26. 내 어머니는 내가 해도 되고 안되는 것이 무엇인지를 정확히 알고 있는지에 관해 신경을 쓴다				
27. 내 어머니는 내가 쉽게 신뢰할 수 있도록 도와준다				
28. 내 어머니는 내가 맞을 만한 짓을 하지 않았을 때라도 때릴 때가 있다				
29. 내 어머니는 나를 귀찮아 하는 것 같다				
30. 내 어머니는 화났을 때, 나를 심하게 혼낸다				
31. 내 어머니는 너무 바빠서 내 묻는 말에 대답을 하지 못할 때가 있다				
32. 내 어머니는 나에게 괜히 화를 낸다				
33. 내 어머니는 내 일에 진정 관심을 갖고 있다				
34. 내 어머니는 나에게 나쁜 말을 한다				
35. 내 어어니는 내가 도움을 청할 때 귀를 기울이지 않는다				
36. 내 어머니는 내가 필요한 존재라는 느낌이 들도록 한다				
37. 내 어머니는 나에게 관심을 많이 기울인다				
38. 내 어머니는 내 기분을 상하게 만든다				
39. 내 어머니는 내가 중요하다고 생각하는 일들을 종종 잊어버린다				
40. 내가 버릇없이 굴 때, 내 어머니는 더 이상 나를 사랑하지 않을 것 같은 생각이 든다				
41. 내 어머니는 내가 하는 일이 중요하다는 생각이 들게 해준다				
42. 내가 잘못을 저지를 경우, 내 어머니는 나를 윽박지르거나 위협적으로 대한다.				
43. 내 어머니는 내가 무엇을 생각하고 있는 지 샌경을 쓰며, 그것에 관해 이야기 하도록 북돋아 준다.				
44. 내가 무엇을 하든지 내 어머니는 내가 다른 아이들보다 더 낫다고 생각한다.				
45. 내 어머니는 내가 필요없는 존재라고 느끼게 한다.				
46. 내 어머니는 내가 어머니의 사랑을 받고 있다는 것을 알게해준다.				
47. 내 어머니는 내가 귀찮게할때만 내게 관심을 가진다.				
48. 내 어머니는 나를 다정다감하게 대한다.				

APPENDIX Q

CHILD PAQ: Personality Assessment Questionnaire

_____ _____

Name (or I. D. number) Date

The following pages contain a number of statements describing the way people feel about themselves. Read each statement carefully and think how well it describes you. Work quickly; give your first impression and move on to the next item. Do not dwell on any item.

Four boxes are drawn after each sentence. If the statement is basically true about you then ask yourself, "Is it almost always true?" or "Is it only sometimes true?" If you think the statement is almost always true put an X in the box ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE; if you feel the statement is only sometimes true mark SOMETIMES TRUE. If you feel the statement is basically untrue about you, then ask yourself, "Is it rarely true?" or "Is it almost never true?" If it is rarely true then put an X in the box RARELY TRUE; if you feel the statement is almost never true mark ALMOST NEVER TRUE.

Remember, there is no right or wrong answer to any statement so be as honest as you can. Respond to each statement the way you think you really are rather than the way you would like to be. For example, if you almost always feel good about yourself then mark the item as follows:

	TRUE OF ME		**NOT TRUE OF ME**	
	Almost Always True	***Sometimes True***	***Rarely True***	***Almost Never True***
I feel good about myself	☒	☐	☐	☐

NOW TURN TO THE NEXT PAGE

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(Revised June, 2004)

		TRUE OF ME		NOT TRUE OF ME	
		Almost Always True	*Sometimes True*	*Rarely True*	*Almost Never True*
1.	I think about fighting or being unkind	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	I like my parents to feel sorry for me when I feel ill.	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	I like myself	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	I feel I can do the things I want as well as most people	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.	I have difficulty showing people how I feel	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.	I feel bad or get angry when I try to do something and I cannot do it	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.	I feel life is nice	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.	I want to hit something or someone	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.	I like my parents to give me a lot of love	☐	☐	☐	☐
10.	I feel I am no good and I never will be any good	☐	☐	☐	☐
11.	I feel I cannot do things well	☐	☐	☐	☐
12.	It is easy for me to be loving with my parents	☐	☐	☐	☐
13.	I am in a bad mood and grumpy without any good reason	☐	☐	☐	☐
14.	I see life as full of dangers	☐	☐	☐	☐
15.	I get so angry I throw or break things	☐	☐	☐	☐
16.	When I am unhappy I like to work out my problems by myself	☐	☐	☐	☐
17.	When I meet someone I do not know, I think (s)he is better than I am	☐	☐	☐	☐
18.	I can compete successfully for things I want	☐	☐	☐	☐
19.	I have trouble making and keeping good friends	☐	☐	☐	☐
20.	I get upset when things go wrong	☐	☐	☐	☐
21.	I think the world is a good, happy place	☐	☐	☐	☐
22.	I make fun of people who do stupid things	☐	☐	☐	☐
23.	I like my parents to give me a lot of attention	☐	☐	☐	☐
24.	I think I am a good person and other people should think so too	☐	☐	☐	☐

		TRUE OF ME		NOT TRUE OF ME	
		Almost Always True	*Sometimes True*	*Rarely True*	*Almost Never True*
25.	I think I am a failure	☐	☐	☐	☐
26.	It is easy for me to show my family that I love them	☐	☐	☐	☐
27.	I am cheerful and happy one minute and gloomy and unhappy the next	☐	☐	☐	☐
28.	For me the world is an unhappy place	☐	☐	☐	☐
29.	I pout or sulk when I get angry	☐	☐	☐	☐
30.	I like to be given encouragement when I am having trouble with something	☐	☐	☐	☐
31.	I feel pretty good about myself	☐	☐	☐	☐
32.	I feel I cannot do many of the things I try to do	☐	☐	☐	☐
33.	It is hard for me to show the way I really feel to someone I like	☐	☐	☐	☐
34.	It is unusual for me to get angry or upset	☐	☐	☐	☐
35.	I see the world as a dangerous place	☐	☐	☐	☐
36.	I have trouble controlling my temper	☐	☐	☐	☐
37.	I like my parents to make a fuss over me when I am hurt or sick	☐	☐	☐	☐
38.	I get unhappy with myself	☐	☐	☐	☐
39.	I feel I am a success in the things I do	☐	☐	☐	☐
40.	It is easy to show my friends I really like them	☐	☐	☐	☐
41.	I get upset easily when I come across hard problems	☐	☐	☐	☐
42.	Life for me is a good thing	☐	☐	☐	☐

APPENDIX R

Child Psychological Adjustment Questionnaire (Korean)

KOREN: CHILD PAQ

이름 (혹은 I.D. number) 날짜

다음 항목들은 사람들마다 자기 자시들에 대한 생각들이 얼마나 다른지를 서술하고 있습니다. 각 문장을 읽고 그것이 얼마나 여러분 자신을 잘 표현하고 있는지 생각해 주십시오. 여러분의 첫 번째 느낌으로 가능한 빨리 답하고 다음 번 문항으로 넘어 가십시오.

보기의 문항이 여러분 자신의 느낌과 일치하는 정도에 따라 "항상 그렇다, " " 가끔 그렇다," "드물게 그렇다," "전혀 그렇지 않다" 중 선택하여 해당되는 칸에 o 표를 해 주십시오.

옳거나 틀린 답은 없습니다. 따라서 각 문항에 여러분이 되고 싶어하는 이상적인 자신보다는 실제 있는 그대로의 자신에 관하여 정직하게 대답해 주십시오. 예를 들면, 만약 여러분이 항상 자신에 대해 좋게 생각한다면 "항상 그렇다" 에 o 표를 해 주십시오.

	나에 대해 맞음		나에 대해 맞지않음	
	항상 그렇다	가끔 그렇다	드물게 그렇다	전혀 그렇지 아니다
나는 내 자신에 대하여 좋게 느낀다	o			

자 이제 시작합시다.

	나에 대해 맞음		나에 대해 맞지않음	
	항상 그렇다	가끔 그렇다	드물게 그렇다	전혀 그렇지 아니다
1. 나는 남에게 싸우고 또 못된 짓을 할 생각을 한다.				
2. 내가 아플 때는 우리 어머니께서 나를 가엽게 생각해 주기를 바란다.				
3. 나는 내 자신을 좋은 사람이라고 생각하고 또 좋아한다.				
4. 나는 내가 하고 싶을 일이 있을 때 다른 사람들에게 지지 않을 만큼 할 수 있다고 생각한다.				
5. 나의 기분을 남에게 알려주고 싶을 때 큰 어려움을 느낀다.				

	나에 대해 맞음		나에 대해 맞지않음	
	항상 그렇다	가끔 그렇다	드물게 그렇다	전혀 그렇지 아니다
6. 내가 하고 싶은 일이 잘 안될 때는 마음이 상하고 화가 난다.				
7. 나는 삶이 즐겁고 좋다고 느낀다.				
8. 나는 가끔 물건이다 사람을 치고 싶다.				
9. 나는 부모님이 나에게 많은 사랑을 주셨으면 좋겠다.				
10. 나는 내가 무엇을 잘하리라고 생각지 않는다.				
11. 나는 무엇이든지 잘 할 수 있는 것이 거의 없다고 생각된다.				
12. 나는 나의 부모님들과 가깝게 지낸다.				
13. 나는 이유없이 기분이 상하고 화가 날 때가 많다.				
14. 이 세상에는 위험한 일들이 많다.				
15. 나는 화가 나면 던지고 부순다.				
16. 나는 마음이 상했을 때 혼자서 조용히 그 문제를 해결하고 싶어한다.				
17. 나는 처음으로 누구를 만났을 때 그 사람이 나보다 더 나은 사람이라고 생각한다.				
18. 내가 좋아하는 일이라면 경쟁력이 뛰어나다.				
19. 나는 친구를 만들기도, 오래 사귀기도 어렵다.				
20. 나는 일이 잘 안풀리면 화가 난다.				
21. 나는 세상이 행복하고 살기 좋은 곳이라고 생각한다.				
22. 나는 바보 같은 짓 하는 사람을 놀려준다.				
23. 나는 부모님이 나에게 좀 더 신경써 주시면 좋겠다.				
24. 나는 나를 좋은 사람이라고 생각하고 다른 사람들도 그렇게 생각해야 한다고 생각한다.				
25. 나는 내가 낙오자라고 생각한다.				
26. 내 가족들에게 내가 얼마나 사랑하는지 보여주는 것은 쉽다.				
27. 나는 기쁘고 좋다가도 갑자기 이유없이 기분이 나빠질 때가 많다.				
28. 내게 세상은 불행한 곳이다.				
29. 나는 화가 나면 울고 고함 지른다.				
30. 내가 어려움을 당할 때는 누가 나를 격려해주면 좋겠다.				
31. 나는 내 자신을 꽤 괜찮다고 생각한다.				
32. 내가 하고 싶어하는 일들은 잘 안된다.				
33. 나를 좋아하는 사람들에게 내 마음을 그대로 표현하기가 어렵다.				
34. 내가 화를 내거나 분노하는 일은 드물다.				
35. 내게 세상은 위험한 곳으로 보인다.				
36. 나는 화나는 감정을 조절하고 어렵다.				
37. 내가 다치고 아플 때는 우리 부모님들이 내게 좀 더 잘해주었으면 좋겠다.				
38. 나는 내 자신이 싫을 때가 종종 있다.				
39. 나는 내가 하는 일들을 잘해내는 편이라고 여긴다.				
40. 내 친구들에게 우정을 표현하는 일은 쉽다.				
41. 어려운이 닥쳤을 때, 나는 쉽게 화가 난다.				
42. 내게 삶은 좋은 것이다.				

Appendix S

SPSS PROCESS Interaction Results of the Moderated Mediation for Model 1

Predictor (X)	Mediator (M)	Moderator (W)	Outcome (Y)	Interaction (M*W) 95% Confidence Interval		*p*
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
M_BAS_Ho.	M_Emot.	C_BAS_Ho.	C_PAQ	-.210	.194	.938
			C_GPA	-.007	.007	.967
		C_BAS_Her.	C_PAQ	-.118	.246	.487
			C_GPA	-.006	.007	.859
	M_Hard.	C_BAS_Ho.	C_PAQ	-.308	.166	.554
			C_GPA	-.005	.012	.402
		C_BAS_Her.	C_PAQ	-.152	.173	.897
			C_GPA	-.007	.005	.809
	M_Comp.	C_BAS_Ho.	C_PAQ	-.162	.102	.655
			C_GPA	-.002	.007	.258
		C_BAS_Her.	C_PAQ	-.111	.114	.977
			C_GPA	-.005	.003	.559
M_BAS_Her.	M_Emot.	C_BAS_Ho.	C_PAQ	-.216	.199	.932
			C_GPA	-.008	.006	.799
		C_BAS_Her.	C_PAQ	-.151	.220	.711
			C_GPA	-.006	.007	.871
	M_Hard.	C_BAS_Ho.	C_PAQ	-.325	.156	.486
			C_GPA	-.005	.011	.484
		C_BAS_Her.	C_PAQ	-.144	.191	.779
			C_GPA	-.007	.005	.641
	M_Comp.	C_BAS_Ho.	C_PAQ	-.169	.100	.607
			C_GPA	-.002	.007	.327
		C_BAS_Her.	C_PAQ	-.092	.134	.716
			C_GPA	-.005	.003	.722

Appendix T

SPSS PROCESS Interaction Results of the Moderated Mediation for Model 2

Predictor (X)	Mediator (M)	Moderator (W)	Outcome (Y)	Interaction (M*W) 95% Confidence Interval		*p*
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
M_BAS_Ho.	M_Emot.	C_FWarm.	C_PAQ	-.119	.035	.282
			C_GPA	-.005	.001	.155
		C_MWarm.	C_PAQ	-.131	.049	.371
			C_GPA	-.003	.004	.818
	M_Hard.	C_FWarm.	C_PAQ	-.123	.007	.082
			C_GPA	-.005	.000	.102
		C_MWarm.	C_PAQ	-.109	.045	.413
			C_GPA	-.003	.004	.804
	M_Comp.	C_FWarm.	C_PAQ	-.077	.020	.244
			C_GPA	-.003	.001	.321
		C_MWarm.	C_PAQ	-.078	.030	.378
			C_GPA	-.001	.003	.362
M_BAS_Her.	M_Emot.	C_FWarm.	C_PAQ	-.122	.035	.276
			C_GPA	-.005	.001	.145
		C_MWarm.	C_PAQ	-.137	.047	.331
			C_GPA	-.004	.004	.999
	M_Hard.	C_FWarm.	C_PAQ	-.115	.017	.147
			C_GPA	-.005	.001	.132
		C_MWarm.	C_PAQ	-.120	.037	.299
			C_GPA	-.003	.004	.728
	M_Comp.	C_FWarm.	C_PAQ	-.078	.020	.245
			C_GPA	-.003	.001	.272
		C_MWarm.	C_PAQ	-.076	.036	.475
			C_GPA	-.001	.003	.434

APPENDIX U

Summary Coding Table of Mothers' Data

Domain	Factor	Subfactor
Acculturation	Reason of immigration	Marriage
		Education
		Working
		Pursuing a better life
	Preparation for immigration	Not at all
		Thinking but no preparation
		Prepared (English)
	Strategy of adjustment	Learning English
		Using connections
		Accepting an immigrant status
		Finding jobs available for non-English speakers
		Holding multiple jobs
		Studying and working
	Challenges and emotions	Language
		Working and rearing kids without social support
		Mental health issue
		Limited support (network)
		Financial difficulty
	Discrimination	Perceived immigrant image
		Perceived Asian image
		Ways to deal
	Helpful resources	Faith / church
		Korean schools
		Korean and American friends
		Family members in Korea
Parental Practices	Supports	Encouraging child's autonomy
		Providing children's needs
		Providing an academic environment
	Strategy	Emphasis on hard work
		Emotional comfort through food
		Asking kids and other parents
		Being a parent-teacher
		Providing extra tutoring
	Conversation	Academics
		Racialization
		Discrimination

Appendix U Continued

Domain	Factor	Subfactor
The Meaning of Education	Goals	Academics
		Manners as a Korean
		Values: Being a Christian
	The benefit of education	Protecting the child from financial struggles
		Emotional satisfaction
		Family honor
	Principal agent for child's education	Child's autonomy
		Parents' anticipation for the child
		Comparison with other Asian students
	Perceived father's role in education	Financial supporter
		Moral teacher
		Macro rather than micro level supervision
Intergenerational Interaction	Identity beliefs	Korean
		Korean American
		Minority
	Causes of conflict	Emotional distance
		Different manners
		Different beliefs
	Mother's perceived child's feelings	Pressured
		Lonely
		Anxious
	Factors for positive parent-child bonding	Conversation with the child
		Expression of parental love
		Encouraging faith
		Presenting positive examples

APPENDIX V

Summary Coding Table of Children's Data

Domain	Factor	Subfactor
Acculturation	Reason of immigration	Parent's marriage to U.S. citizen
		Parent's study
		Parent's decision for child's future
	Emotions upon arrival in U.S.	Anxiety
		Fear
		Resistance
		Sad
		Excitement
	Strategy of adjustment	Learn English
		Accepting two cultures
		Multi-tasking
	Challenges & emotions	Language: English and Korean
		Being an Asian: smart image
		Emotional distress
	Helpful resource	Friends
		Korean organizations
Perceived Parental Practices	Support	Providing food and snack
		Providing extra tutoring
		Encouraging autonomy
		Endeavoring to support the child
		Monitoring child's schedule
		Emphasizing hard work
	Conversation	Academics
		College/ Future career
		Discrimination
	Ethnic socialization	Emphasis on Korean identity
		Teach Korean manners
		Feed Korean food
		Sending the child to a Korean community

Appendix U Continued

Domain	Factor	Subfactor
The Meanings of Education	Goals and benefits of education	Pave the way for future
		Becoming a better person
		Emotional satisfaction
	Principal agent for child's education	Child's preference
		Parents' anticipation
		Comparison with other Asians
	Results of failing	Shame
		Self-blame
		Shame on parents
Intergenerational Interaction	Identity belief	Korean
		Korean American
		Perception on South Korea
	Attitude toward two cultures	Accepting two different cultures
		Appreciate the benefits of being bicultural
		Appreciate being an Asian
		Conflict: causes
		Different approaches to conflict
	Factors for positive parent-child bonding	Food prepared
		Discipline child's shortcoming
		Knowledge about the child

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